



# BURMA, THE FOREMOST COUNTRY.

## A Timely Discourse.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

JOHN BULL'S NEIGHBOUR SQUARING UP;

OR,

HOW THE FRENCHMAN SOUGHT TO WIN  
AN EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

WITH

Notes on the Probable Effects of French Success in  
Tonquin on British Interests in Burma.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"OUR BURMESE WARS AND RELATIONS WITH BURMA,"  
"ASHÉ PYEE," &c.

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## R E M A R K S

(INCLUDING OPINION OF THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., ON THE SECOND BURMESE WAR).

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IN this attempt to give a popular account of, Burma to the world, the author has been actuated by the desire to supply a want long felt by intelligent Englishmen, that there is no handy little work or discourse on the most rising province of our British Empire in the East—if ever a province deserved the title, “a Princess among the provinces”—to which the political and warlike doings of the French in Cochin-China and Tonquin are now lending additional interest.

Since the publication of his last volume, *Ashé Pyee*, the Eastern or superior, or “front” or foremost country,\* from which some apparently useful and interesting materials have been selected for the present sketch, two remarkable events concerning Burma have occurred—one the publication of Sir Arthur

\* See *Ashé Pyee*, p. 239.

Phayre's erudite and deeply interesting "History" of the country, and the other the receipt of a note by the present writer from Mr. Bright, giving an opinion—probably to a new generation, for the first time—on the second Burmese war. It is denounced as "a sore crime;" but, perhaps, the vast amount of satisfactory progress, in the interests of commerce, humanity, and civilisation, made in British Burma during the last quarter of a century, and set forth in *Ashé Pyee*, will atone for all the shortcomings of the past, and gain the favour of our great English orator and practical statesman, on whose opinion—"various" \* opinion, it may be said—his countrymen set so much value.

It will, doubtless, be satisfactory to the reader to give the entire note on this occasion, which, for its "few words," Saint Paul himself might have envied, and could hardly have excelled:—

"DEAR SIR,

"Rochdale, Oct. 20, 1883.

"I thank you for the gift of your book. I hope soon to be able to read it. The Burmese war was a sore crime. Mr. Cobden wrote an admirable pamphlet upon it. I hope not to find in your book any support of the policy which led to the annexation of Burmah.

"I am, yours truly,

"JOHN BRIGHT."

With reference to the occasional little piece on the French endeavour to found or win an empire in Eastern Asia, and introduction of the reader to the year *in esse*, 1903, the writer, some time after completing it, read a lively and amusing "skit" on "India in 1983." In the "confusion worse confounded," set forth after the lapse of a century, the author of the "skit" has the Golden Foot (King of Burma) marching on Rangoon, our Chin-Indian Liverpool or Glasgow; but in twenty years the more humble prophet has ventured to assert that there will be no King of Burma whatever to march against us; for Northern or Upper Burma will then also be ours; and Tonquin, long ago entirely pacified by the French forces—consequently no great Franco-Chinese war having taken place—John Bull, John Chinaman, and the at length colonially energetic Frenchman, will be good and prosperous friends in neighbouring provinces, with justice fairly at work, and civilisation, in its most useful sense, really born! Is not such "a consummation devoutly to be wished"?

Turning with natural anxiety, however, to "the living present," we would seem to be some distance from such a pleasing prospect. Peace certainly has not yet found rest with men; and, indisputably, in a lasting (the only valuable) form, not between France and China. The Celestials still claim their 200-years-old right of suzerainty over Annam or Cochin-China, and seem determined that France shall not

Yellow Book established, had never abandoned her suzerainty over Tonquin." M. Garnier, said M. Rivière, towards the conclusion of his speech, did not consider China a "negligable quantity," but advised negotiation with Peking.\* M. Bonréc, who too long underrated China, finished by taking M. Garnier's advice, and M. Duclerc thought his treaty acceptable, "but there was a less pacific current than he followed in his Government." Eventually it was ordered "that all Chinese taken with arms were ordered to be treated as bandits. This was resented at Peking, and proclaimed a violation of international law." M. Bourée was recalled, "which aggravated the quarrel." He was succeeded by M. Tricon. The orator concluded by asking, "Did the policy of the Government merit the Chamber's confidence?"

It should be kept in mind, while discussing the Tonquin question, that in the Treaty of 1871 the President of the French Republic, as will be seen by the last Blue Book, acknowledges "the sovereignty of the King of Annam and his entire independence with regard to every foreign Power." This alone was enough to irritate China. To the sweeping accusations against the Government, M. Jules Ferry, the Premier of France, replied on the 10th of December; and, under the circumstances, perhaps no French

statesman could have made a better defence. It not only carried the Credits *carte blanche*, but acted as a magical vote of confidence in the Government. And this, notwithstanding the depression in Paris produced by the Blue Book. His was, indeed, the leading feature of the day's proceedings: "He had been held up to scorn as a man labouring under hallucination, who was involving the country in a kind of wild policy of colonial expansion. He contended that his policy had been not an aggressive but a strictly defensive one, the object of which was to protect and hold the colonies they possessed. They had to go to Tunis to secure their position in Algeria, and their operations in Tonquin were meant to secure their position in Cochin-China. The conquest of Cochin-China, he contended, was in no way imputable to the present Government, and he reminded the House that it was in 1875 that Admiral Montaignac had laid down the necessity of establishing a serious Protectorate over Anam. Therefore, the policy of distant expeditions could not be brought forward as an accusation against the existing Ministry. That policy had been initiated by their predecessors; and when they took office they found they had to deal with a state of things which was no invention of their own."\* On the same authority, M. Ferry said he intended to reply to the Marquis Tseng:—"I propose," he said, "to reply that the movement of troops can be stopped, and an

\* "Standard" Correspondent, Paris, 10th "



armistice concluded, when one is in presence of bases for negotiation; but as I do not perceive those bases for negotiation, I do not consider that we can make Admiral Courbet return if he is in the indicated places, or stop the movement of the troops" (applause on centre benches, and numerous cries of "Then it is war!"). Immediately after this it was announced in Berlin, with reference to the protection of English interests in China, that the German Government merely acceded to the desire expressed by the British Cabinet that the two countries should co-operate with a view to the protection of their respective subjects, and that no manifestation either for or against France or China could have been contemplated. Then it was said that the Chinese Ministers at Peking had declared "that it would be imprudent to engage in a conflict with France in view of the condition of the Chinese navy." From this it would seem that the Chinese are well aware that the French navy is, next to our own, the finest navy in the world, and that there would be some consternation if it were directed against the treaty ports, which, of course, neither England nor Germany would tolerate. Turning once more to the Vote of Credit, it was remarked by the "Times" Correspondent that "the moral of the vote is, that France is disposed to effect an understanding with China," and he thinks "this will be evident after the capture of Bao-Ninh and Sontay." We now arrive at the inevitable (if it can be so called), that "China"

must now abandon all hope of France drawing back, and the time seems to have come for the neutral Powers to dispel the illusions of Chinese statesmen [*Quere*: Do Chinese statesmen think them "illusions?"] on this point, and to urge them to conciliatory measures." Whatever may be said by the most fastidious Frenchman or Englishman, there can be no doubt as to the admirable or fair manner in which the Correspondents of the London journals have chronicled events and operations in Tonquin and Cochin-China from the beginning. From such valuable materials alone, it will not be difficult for the future historian to write a good history of the war that is progressing; and such able Correspondents will probably apply their talents to *Napierizing* (if affairs continue as at present) the far greater war *in esse*. It is curious to look back—even to early in October—and wade through the immense mass of correspondence furnished by the journals. On Oct. 10th we are informed from Paris that the Ministerial Deputies expect the Government "to get well through the Tonquin affair." Then, from a hoped-for Convention with the Black Flags—recruited from the Chinese, Annamese, and border tribes—it was said "there will be a definitive situation as in Tunis, from which it would be almost impossible to withdraw"; and M. Harmand, the able French Commissioner, had been instructed to be brisk and diligent in organising the French Protectorate, Germany encouraging his efforts;

and "all the other Powers except England will look on with indifference." John Bull, with his vast interests in China, was to look on and grumble as usual. "John Bull," writes a leading Correspondent at this time, "may grumble a little, and then find satisfaction in openly encouraging the Australians to annex Papua." Then the "République Française" speaks of China as *une quantité négligeable*, which, as the French Chamber discovered, it certainly is not. Another French journal mentions the "official mediation" of England between France and China, and adds that China would be willing to cede to France the entire delta of the Song Koi, together with various towns, including Bac-Ninh. Then, again, the news of negotiations with the Black Flags is not confirmed; and "no treaty will be signed until Sontay and Bac-Ninh (held by thousands of Chinese) have been occupied by the French." Next comes a despatch from the French Governor of Cochin-China, M. Thomson, stating, "that an understanding has been come to with the King of Cambodia respecting the various treaty obligations, and especially the expenses of the French Protectorate." Then appeared the treaty of Hué, the full text of which, or the "Draft Treaty between France and Anam," dated the 25th August, was published in Paris about the middle of October. The conclusion of this famous treaty is significant: "France and Anam" are, in addition to other useful things, "to study all the questions concerning the territories of

Tonquin, and concessions of mines and forests." By the end of October the actual occupation of Tonquin by Admiral Courbet had commenced. Canton was at length quiet, and Credits to the amount of 10,000,000 fr. were about to be demanded for the Tonquin expedition. Then came, at the beginning of November, that excellent French officer General Bouet's remarks on the state of Tonquin, which he describes as "a fine country," and implores the Minister of Marine to send him back again to accomplish the work he had commenced there. Then the Minister of War was preparing a reserve of 10,000 troops, ready for Tonquin if necessary; and next the famed Marquis Tseng, M. Tricou, and M. Ferry appear conspicuously in print, the Chinese representatives in Paris having made public an official contradiction to a telegram read by the French Premier, stating that the Marquis had been disavowed by his Government. At this time also—about a month after the arrival of Bouet in Paris—it was announced that the Bill of General Campenon (the new War Minister) would shortly be introduced in the Chamber of Deputies,—a Bill for the creation of "a colonial army!" This announcement was liable to produce the natural remark:—Of course, Germany's colonial army will come next; and, perhaps, Italy's; and then John Bull will be sorely puzzled to understand what, in the name of "a spirited colonial policy," such a march of progress among the nations all means! These and the few

subsequent important remarks in the French Chamber already given, afford a fair specimen of the food provided for comment by the intelligent, ubiquitous, *nunquam dormio* Correspondent of a high-class London journal.

And now we near the conclusion of the second act of this strange, eventful, serio-comic drama. The first may be said to have concluded with the bombardment of Hué and the forced treaty of August 25th, signed by Tiep Hoa, nephew to Tu Duc, Emperor or King of Annam, who died on the 20th of July last, and left no direct male heir. The French had played "a puppet" on the throne, disliked by the local mandarin authorities at Hué, and of course at Peking, since the new "feudal" king was not the choice of the King of Heaven and his advisers. It was even said that the Hué treaty was wrested from the unfortunate Tiep Hoa, "after a bombardment and a massacre." The object of the treaty was "to organize the protectorate of France over Annam," when, as desired by M. Ferry, the French would really possess Tonquin, the object at heart—and a very good one—"with a view to open up new outlets for French commerce." By December 5th news had reached Hanoi (*vié* Saigon) that all the proposed good to be effected by the French through the treaty had culminated in revolution. Tiep Hoa, the new King, had been poisoned. It was also asserted that "the influence of the Anti-French mandarins was paramount

at Hué, and war with France had been proclaimed." Any way, it was asserted, the intriguing mandarins at the Court of Hué had "undone the greater part of the work accomplished by the French on the Hué river, and had added largely to the difficulties of the problem at the most critical moment;" they had, in fact, declared a good authority, "destroyed the value of the Treaty of Hué." Of course it may be partly regained by the election of a new King.\* French energy, however, by no means abated, and the next important intelligence (from Hong Kong) received was to the effect that a French expedition of 6,000 men, with a powerful flotilla, had started for Sontay, under Admiral Courbet.† The assault was expected on the 12th December; and the enemy's force was estimated at 20,000 men. Then came the laconic telegram (10th December) of the gallant Admiral himself—"WE ARE MARCHING ON SONTAY."

In the middle of December, President Grévy signed the appointment of General Millot as Commander-in-Chief of the Tonquin expeditionary force (over 15,000 men), with Brigadier-Generals Negrier and Brière Delisle under his orders.‡ The Black Flags were now reported to be in Chinese pay—supposed to be the case all along—and everything seemed very warlike indeed. Above all, in the French Chamber,

\* Kien Phuoc succeeded to the throne. He was crowned on the 2nd December, and is only fifteen years of age.

† General Bouet, who had already done such good service in Tonquin, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Troops in Cochin-China.

on December 15th, M. Ferry submitted a vote of credit of 20,000,000 fr., in addition to the sums already accorded—a very small sum for such a large and important enterprise, and which will have to be quadrupled ere long unless the French, in the face of local and Chinese obstacles, meet with wonderful success in their noble mission to win a French Empire in the East. Any way, France must now go on; she cannot possibly withdraw from Tonquin, much less from her possessions to the southward. What next? In the event of failure would Germany seek a colony in Tonquin? Throughout the long diplomatic contest between France and China, Burma has been hardly mentioned, which might induce the suspicious to think that King Theeban has been waiting his time. What was done in Paris with the Burmese Embassy, to Franco-Burmese commercial relations, is alluded to at the end of the "Notes" on Tonquin. But the last important event announced concerning the Golden Foot was that His Majesty had sold a White Elephant to the miraculous Barnum for a fabulous sum! If this be true, such a piece of "sacrilege"—compromising the Gautamaic sanctity of the animal among all the Burmese—would alone seem to render a change of hands as regards the now independent portion of the old Burmese Empire; for, next to the king, the White Elephant used to be considered the most sacred personage in the kingdom. But was y, like so many Oriental kings, a man of large intellect, and a

works wonders.. Later on it was announced from Calcutta, that the King of Burma had despatched a force of 5,000 men against the Shan States.\* The present writer has always endeavoured to keep the vast importance of the Shans before the British public. Doubtless, there is a great future in store for them. During the present crisis in Tonquin, they become of more importance than ever. In October last, certain tribes, named Hos by the French, were threatening the north-east of Siam, which directed attention to the country between the west of Tonquin and Upper Burma. "It must be borne in mind," writes a good authority on the subject, "that all the territory west of Tonquin, including the 'neutral zone,' is inhabited by Laos or Shans. Tonquin, in this direction, in the neighbourhood of Hung-hoa, is conterminous with Luang-Prabang, the north-east province of Siam, and, in connection with this, the anticipations of M. Louis de Carné, as well as the fact that recent French map-makers all bring the territory of Burma across a stretch of some 400 miles, up to the Tonquin frontier, should be kept well in mind." The same writer asserts that it is an open question among the French in Tonquin, that, if once established there, they will have to extend their dominion, for there is something "beyond Tonquin," whatever French diplomatists and statesmen may say. "It is in this direction that

\* It is presumed, in the vicinity of the Burmese capital, Mandalay.





tionalists" at Rangoon—the rising and truly prosperous capital of British Burma—who have set their hearts on the greater promotion of high-class education through the establishment of a university, to which the town is fairly entitled, the latter good news is speedily followed by the announcement of the capture of the approaches to Sontay by the French (14th December) after a rather severe conflict, or rather series of conflicts; reminding one, in not a few particulars, of the capture of Rangoon in the middle of April 1852. In the first place, the scene of operations was also in Chin-India; in both cases army and navy were employed; the French forces were not much less than those engaged at Rangoon (4,000 or 5,000); the French operations, about the middle of the month, like ours, were by land and river; the naval force assisted the military in the bombardment; there was a terrible halt after the first encounter in both cases before being able to fight the way up to the fortress; but the French casualties were greater in number. The new expeditionary corps, true enough, left their own post of Hanoi for the fray; while, at Rangoon, the General's force—composed of British and Indian (chiefly Madras) troops, the famous old Indian Navy, and a few Royal ships—had to effect a landing in the face of stockades on the Rangoon river. In our approach to the Great Pagoda, or citadel of Rangoon, we had to destroy or capture numerous works; and now the French had captured a fort, and all the

works raised on the bank of the Song-Koi (or Red River) in front of Sontay.

The comparison must end here; for, although both opponents belong to the Mongoloid type, yet the Chinese and Black Flags are—especially with the former's improved military condition since 1860, and European arms—better soldiers than the Burmese. Again, it may be said, that the immutable Celestial opposition is more Conservative than that of the Foremost Country, which, perhaps, excepting King Theebau, shows decidedly Liberal tendencies!

So now, as there can be little doubt of brave Admiral Courbet's final success at Sontay,\* Bac-Ninh, or wherever the Republic may order him, at the approaching festival of "good-will towards men," the author ventures to hope that the "spirited colonial policy" may be fully carried out, as essential to the "maintenance of French *prestige*," and that they may go on as prudent victors—ever recollecting how great

\* The capture of Sontay was achieved on the 16th and 17th December, great determination and gallantry having been displayed throughout the operations. The losses were, at the attack on the outer works, 250 killed and wounded; and at the capture of the Citadel, 75; total 325. That excellent officer, Colonel Bichot, served as Admiral Courbet's chief of the staff. Sontay is rather more than twenty miles distant from Hanoi, the French head-quarters (about north-east of it), and was the stronghold of the Black Flags; it was considered well fortified. Bac-Ninh, also strongly fortified, is twenty miles in a north-easterly direction from Hanoi. Hanoi itself is situated on the Red River, at a point about eighty miles from the sea; and Sontay, twenty-six miles beyond Hanoi, is on the road to the interior of Tonquin. Haiphong is about sixty miles nearly eastward of Hanoi.

British interests in China and Chin-India are—with a sufficient force, and leaving no army hanging in their rear, conquering and to conquer, when they will be fairly sure this time to win their devoutly wished for consummation—an empire in the East. Such success may, possibly, as foretold in the dialogue, be the harbinger of lasting and useful peace throughout Indo-China, which will never be accomplished, however, unless the French avoid an old error in their colonial policy, of remaining too much on the coasts, instead of going boldly forward into the interior, and conciliating and improving the natives of the countries which they have conquered. The French must also, in the present struggle, get rid of all Chinese (or mandarin) influence at Hué and in Tonquin.

The author now sends forth his “little book,” in the month of peace, in which the “Christmas chimes are a merry sound to hear;” and the ubiquitous Englishman listens with deep interest to the music of the bells—be they even as large as that sketched by the accomplished artist for the frontispiece—while, for the twin genii, grief and joy, he hears their song ringing throughout the world.

LONDON,

December, 1883.

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# BURMA AND THE BURMESE.

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"As long as the sun shines in the heavens, the British flag shall wave over those possessions."

MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE (1854).\*

To many close observers at the present day, especially in matters social, political, and commercial, nothing seems more lamentably palpable than the unhappy tendency which exists to give comparatively insignificant affairs undue importance, to the detriment or exclusion of questions which, if carefully pondered over, discussed and worked out, would, Archimedes-like, move, if not the whole, at least a large portion of the world. Of course, a certain amount of respect is due to a man's hobby—and, as we know, every active-minded man has his hobby—whether he have a Jesuit, or local option, or opium, or Russia and the

\* Motto to "Our Burmese Wars," &c. The author takes this opportunity of correcting an error in the title-page of his large volume. For "Lord Mayo at Rangoon, 1870," read "1872."



probable loss of India, or the decline of England, on the brain; or simply the faculty, born with him (as too often appears in the advocate of a peace crotchet) of giving on all occasions to one or more "airy nothings" a "local habitation and a name."

This hobby-nature, however, should not be allowed to militate against matters of the utmost importance. Time alone can prove what are of such a character; and I feel quite justified in ranking among them "Burma and the Burmese," the subject I have chosen for consideration in the present discourse.

Burma is a wonderful country, and the British conquest of Pegu, its brightest jewel, was brought about by the capture of Rangoon, a brilliant feat of arms.\* During a long and rather chequered Indian career, I have carefully watched the progress of British Burma, and the retrospect, as compared with the present, almost seems as if emerging from darkness into "a marvellous and lasting light."

Some five or six years after serving in Orissa, the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry, where, while commanding a detachment of Artillery, I had an opportunity of studying the mysteries of the worship of Jagannáth,—“the seven-headed idol-shrine,” as Southey styles the great temple (although, by the way, the grim idol has only one head, and his brother and sister the same number),—I was experiencing the novelties of furlough life at home, and, on return

\* 14th April 1852.

to India (early in 1852), I was suddenly ordered off with the expeditionary force to Rangoon, which included the best steamships of the fine old Indian navy, and a crack squadron of Her Majesty's ships of war, the subtle names of the "Serpent" and the "Fox" figuring among them. The object of the expedition was to bring the King of Burma, or Golden Foot, who had defied and insulted us, to his senses, which was done by the early part of 1853, when the young hero whose name we all know so well, Ensign Garnet Wolseley, highly distinguished himself by leading a storming party against the robber chieftain, Myattoon, at Donnabew, where, although severely wounded, he had the desire gratified, which every proper young soldier is bound to feel, of seeing service, and hearing a shot fired in earnest for the first time. The last shot—no very bad one—the result of the famous night-march to Tel-el-Kebir, as we all know, has made him Lord Wolseley of Cairo; and I shall ever be proud to think that I was the first public chronicler of his earliest martial exploit in a narrative of the Second Burmese War.

While my "hobby" then, or the Eastern, the Superior or Foremost country, for upwards of thirty years, has been running on in its own peculiar fashion, notwithstanding the lamentable indifference which so often awaits Oriental subjects, rapid progress and unexampled prosperity have crowned our administration in British Burma; of which dependency it has been said by two

of the highest living authorities on the subject, "It is evident that the country and the people have before them a great future," and, again, "This province, in all reasonable probability has a greater future before it than any country in Asia," expressing the strong hope that it may meet from the Government of India the care its importance deserves, and that "every attention be paid towards facilitating its further development."

I now purpose to set this famous country and its people before my readers in as brief a space as possible, hoping to afford some instruction and amusement, and save them the trouble of reading many books, which in this rapid age of talk and motion is a task of no ordinary difficulty. Burma is really a remarkable country, which should be studied by all true friends of progress and civilisation. I shall merely add to these introductory remarks that my humble endeavours to make the subject of Burma popular among the British public have had to struggle against rather severe opposing forces. First came the war in Afghanistan; next the troubles in South Africa; then the critical state of Ireland; and, lastly, the absorbing Egyptian question regarding a country with a delta inferior to that of Burma—all forming a very stormy sea of troubles indeed, through which we are still being so ably piloted by a Liberal Government.

England's mission in the East, in India as in China, has never before been so weighty or important as at present. The decisive action of the French in

Annam (Cochin-China) \* should create more interest in it than ever.

In some way or other, Humanity, and Civilisation, and Commerce, all cry aloud for our assistance in the work of bringing about a united Burma; and shall we deny it to one of the fairest and most productive countries of God's earth?

For the sake of those who have not been able to give much time or attention to Burma (the best part of which we possess, just as the French now in Tonquin do possess the best part of Annam), I shall beg leave to state very briefly, as has been done elsewhere, that Pegu, Arakan, and the long line of sea-coast named Tenasserim—the three maritime provinces of Chin-India or India beyond the Ganges—were united under one administration in January 1862, and called British Burma. Arakan and Tenasserim were acquired by treaty after the first Burmese war of 1824–25–26; and Pegu was occupied and retained consequent on the second war of 1852–53. The entire length of the country is upwards of 900 miles, and the area about 90,000 square miles,† or half the size of Spain. The country lies between 20° 50' on the north, and on the south in

\* We should now be up and doing something more in Indo-China. As the crow flies, in an easterly direction, the distance of Mandalay (the capital of Upper Burma) from Tonquin is not more than 700 or 800 miles. Of course, to reach it by sea, there must be the circuitous route by the Straits.

† Arakan contains 18,000; Pegu, 34,000; and Tenasserim, 38,000 square miles.

about  $10^{\circ} 50'$  north latitude. British Burma is bounded on the west by the Bay of Bengal; Arakan on the north by Chittagong, and some independent states, and on the east by the Yoma mountains; Pegu is separated from Upper Burma on the north by a line corresponding to the  $19^{\circ} 30'$  parallel of north latitude, and is bounded on the east by the Salween river; Tenasserim is bounded on the east by a long line of mountains separating it from Siam, and varying from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea. The physical aspect of the country is thus described:—"Arakan is separated from Pegu and Upper Burma on the east by a range of mountains, which attains at its greatest elevation a height of 7,000 feet. The range runs nearly parallel with the line of sea-coast and gradually lowers towards the south. The northern portion of the country has a large extent of alluvial soil. In the lower course of the river Kuladan (which rises in the mountains to the east of Arakan) and its numerous affluents, the breadth of the land from the shore to the water-shed mountains is from 80 to 90 miles. The water-shed range separating Arakan from Pegu extends southerly, and between that range and the sea-shore for a length of nearly 200 miles, as far as a point near Cape Negrais, the country is a mere narrow strip of land. Pegu and Martaban lie in the valleys of the Irawadi and Sittang rivers. These valleys, bounded east and west by mountain ranges, are narrow in their upper portions, but expand at the delta of the Irawadi into a magni-

ficient alluvial region, penetrated by a vast number of tidal creeks, and extending over 10,000 square miles.”\* Unlike India, drought is unknown in Burma, and, consequently, famine, that occasional scourge of our Imperial dependency, is there quite unknown.

To give a more general idea of the country, I shall, as in my latest work, cite a few extracts from a valuable book† which, a few years back, appeared at Rangoon, the capital of British Burma. RANGOON is described as a “district in the Pegu division, occupying the sea-board from the mouth of the Tsit-Toung, westward to that mouth of the great Irawadi river which is generally known as the China Bakir, but is more correctly called the To, and extending inland up the valleys of the Irawadi and the Tsit-Toung rivers to the Henzada and Tharawadi districts on the west of the Pegu Roma, and to the Shwé-gyeen district of Tenasserim on the east.

“*The general aspect of the district* is that of a vast plain extending along the sea-coast; and, slowly rising, stretching north for some twenty-five miles, when, in about the centre, it is met and, as it were, checked by the lower slopes of the Pegu Roma, and, struggling up amongst these mountains, in the valleys of the Poo-zwon-doung (Puzendoun) and the Pegu, it folds round them east and west, and rolls on, forming

\* See George Duncan's "Geography of India," pp. 59-60.

† "The British Burma Gazetteer," in two volumes. Vol. ii. compiled by authority. Rangoon: Printed at the Government Press, 1879.

portions of the valleys of the Tsit-toung and of the Hlaing.

“South of the Pegu, and in the greater part of the valley of the Hlaing or Rangoon, for some distance above the latitude of the town of the same name, the country is everywhere highly intersected by tidal creeks; the water, a few feet below the surface, is brackish and undrinkable, and wells are useless, but further north are streams, tidal for some distance, and fresh higher up.”

The only MOUNTAINS in the district “are the Pegu Roma, which enter in the extreme north, where they attain an estimated height of 2,000 feet, the highest elevation of the range, and a few miles lower down fork out into two main branches, with several subsidiary spurs.

“The western branch (which has a general S.S.W. direction) and its off-shoots divide the valleys of the Hlaing and Puzendoun rivers, and, after rising once more in the irregularly shaped lime-stone hill called Toung-gnyo, a little to the south of the seventeenth parallel, terminate as a hilly range some thirty miles north of Rangoon. The range is continued as an elevated ridge past that town, where it appears in the laterite hills round the great pagoda and, beyond the Pegu river, in the Syriam Koondan, finally disappearing beneath the alluvial plains of the delta, being last seen in the rocks which crop up in the Hmaw-won stream. The southern portion of this ridge, lying

between the Pegu river and the Hmaw-won runs in a direction nearly parallel to and about three miles east of the Rangoon river, and nowhere more than five miles broad, is locally known as the Thaulyeng (Syriam) Koondan or 'rising ground.' The eastern branch continues from the point of bifurcation towards the S.S.E. and, intersected by the Pegu valley, sinks near the town of Pegu, and finally disappears south of the Pegu river, where it is represented by an undulating wooded tract of no great extent. The sides of the main range are, as a rule, steep, and the valleys sharply excavated, but the upper portion of the Pegu valley has more the character of a table-land with a hilly surface, intersected by deep ravines."

The principal *river* is the Hlaing, "which rises near Prome as the Zay, and entering this district in about  $17^{\circ} 30'$ , flows S.S.E., at first through high sandy banks, past Rangoon, falling into the sea in about  $16^{\circ} 30'$  as the Rangoon river. It is navigable by the largest sea-going vessels as far as Rangoon at all seasons, and during spring-tides ships of considerable burden can ascend for thirty miles further; but just below Rangoon the Hastings shoal stretches across the river, and bars the approach of ships of heavy draught except at springs."

The FORESTS include tracts of all classes; and I shall beg attention hereafter to the beautiful and valuable forests of Burma.

Up to this time it seems hardly fair to have entered



the province of Pegu without a word about its inhabitants. From some valuable "observations," we learn that the physiognomy and language of the Burmese people, as well as those of the adjoining tribes, proclaim them all to belong to the same family of nations as the tribes of Thibet and the Eastern Himalaya. As to whence they came, and how they arrived in Burma, Sir Arthur Phayre wrote some years ago:—"The theory of Prichard, in his 'Natural History of Man,' on this subject is probable, is supported by existing facts, and accords with the physical geography of the regions north of the countries now occupied by the Indo-Chinese races." It is thought reasonable to conclude that tribes leaving the south-eastern margin of the great plateau of Central Asia, early in the existence of the human race, "would naturally follow the downward course of streams and rivers." And, among the earlier emigrants from that part of Asia towards the south, "as far as we can now discover, were the ancestors of the present *Mon* or *Talaing* people, the aborigines, so to speak, of Pegu." The Karens also, it is thought, left their ancient dwelling-places at an early period. Uninfluenced by Buddhism, and their language unwritten till the year 1830, A.D., their traditions of their own origin, or at least of the route by which they arrived at their present seats—the Karennee country—are therefore more trustworthy than those of the Burmese or of the Talaings—the three forming the chief races of Burma

—are, regarding themselves. Above all, in mentioning Upper and Lower (or British) Burma, it is necessary to keep in mind that the Talaing (Pegu) people, who chiefly inhabit the delta of the Irawadi, may no doubt be traced to the same original seat as the Burmese; but their ancestors appear to have left it at a much earlier period than the forefathers of the latter.

“Their language,” says Sir Arthur Phayre, “which now differs materially from that of the Burmese, has become nearly extinct, and there is, perhaps, a larger Talaing-speaking people in Siam than in Pegu.”\*

The following brief summary regarding the people of Burma may also be remembered with advantage:—

The Burmese people, who, including the Talaings, or Peguans, form about five-sixths of the population of British Burma, are classed by ethnologists as Mongoloids. The numerous hill tribes, Karens, Khyengs, Kamis, and others, belong to the same family. The Burmese, by their physiognomy as well as by their language, show that they belong to the same family as “the Bhote, or people of Thibet.”

In a “Critical Sketch” of the Burmese race, while noticing Sir Arthur Phayre’s learned and elaborate paper on its history,† it was remarked:—“In every Indo-Chinese tribe occasional exceptions to the general

\* It may here be noticed that it seems probable the Mon-Talaing race received Buddhism before the Burmese did.

† See the author’s “Sketches of some Distinguished Anglo-Indians,” p. 146.

flat physiognomy are met with; these are almost always among the men. The women have more frequently the true type of Mongolian or Bhotiya face." It is, then, presumed that such tribes as "the Burmese, the Karens, and the Mon, would readily find their way from Central Asia by the courses of the rivers Salween and Menam towards the south. Some would be led westerly, and so gain the valley of the Irawadi in the upper course of that river."

To strengthen, then, from local accounts, and Telugu and Tamil traditions, the ancient connection between Pegu and India, it is interesting to learn that, probably some thousand years B.C., the inhabitants of Tulingana visited and colonised the coast of Burma, finding there a *Mon* population; and the country of the colonists appears in the word *Talaing*, known to surrounding nations and to Europeans.

The student of Hindu mythology will derive some pleasure from analogy in his study of Sir Arthur Phayre's paper on the Burmese race. After an inexplicable chaos, the present earth emerged from a deluge. The subsiding water left a delicious substance, which became spread over the earth. Gautama's throne—Gautama, the Burmese deity, an incarnation of Buddha—first appeared above the water. At the same time the occupants of the "heavenly regions," called Brahma, had accomplished their destinies. Changing their state, they "became beings with corporeal frames, but without sex." They (men) arrive at

“Paradise Lost,” in Chin-India. “From eating of the ambrosia, the light of the bodies of these beings gradually declined, and because of the darkness they became sore afraid.”

I may here remark that in my first work on Pegu, allusion is made to similar curious information relating to the Karens (Deists), who have a complete story of the fall of man and the deluge.\*

From the “beings with corporeal frames” just alluded to—a strange primeval essence of humanity—we are informed that the people called, by Europeans, *Burmas*, *Burmans*, or *Burmese* take their name. In the Burmese language “the name is written *Mran-má* or *Mram-ma*, and is generally pronounced by themselves *Ba-má*.” Alluding to Ava, we find a learned geographical writer of twenty-six years ago remarking:—“By Europeans the country is generally called Ava, from the common name of the (old) capital; but by the natives themselves it is named Burma (in which there is no *h*), which is a corruption of *Mrumma*, its original appellation.” So much for the etymology of the word Myan-ma or *Mran-má*. The name, then, by which the Burmese are known to Europeans, or as they call themselves, is written *Mran-má*, and sometimes *Mram-má*, which is a variation of the same word. Turning from the roots *mi* and *ma* in the Burmese language, we at length arrive at a most interesting conclusion by Sir Arthur Phayre:—“I cannot,” he

\* See “Pegu,” a Narrative, &c., p. 500.

remarks, "say how the Chinese got the word, but it is possible that *Mien* was the original name of the race, and contains the root meaning *man*." This is very remarkable, especially when connected with the title I ventured to give my last volume—*Ashé Pyee*, the *Eastern*, or *superior*, or *foremost* country. So, then, for anything we know, the cradle of the human race may have been in Burma and the surrounding countries! In other senses, therefore, besides the moral one, the line of the famous English poet holds good, that

The proper study of mankind is man.

Before leaving the region of etymology, I shall now say a word or two about RANGOON, which British commercial capital of Chin-India, I was glad to observe, formed a principal topic in the lecture before the Royal Geographical Society \* by the daring and energetic traveller, Mr. Colquhoun—one, of whom it may be said, in terms used by Humboldt on Alexander Burnes in Bokhara, who has cast a line of light (*une ligne lumineuse*) over the hitherto dark regions of south-west China. Rangoon, then, as before stated, the capital of the Pegu province, and consequently of British Burma, some twenty or twenty-five miles from the sea—the present Liverpool or Glasgow of Chin-India—may be considered worthy of brief mention as to the origin of the name. In the early Talaing histories it has the name of Dagon, so called from the

\* Monday, November 13th, 1882.

great Shwé (golden) Dagon Pagoda, in ancient as in modern times the chief landmark of the town. In the wars which took place between the Kings of Pegu and Upper Burma, Dagon often changed hands; and when at last, in 1763, Alompra, the hunter, drove out the Talaing (Pegu) garrison of Ava—then the Burman capital—and eventually conquered the Talaing kingdom, “he came down to Dagon, repaired the great Shwé Dagon Pagoda, almost refoinded the town, and re-named it Rankoon (‘the end of the war,’ from *Ran* war, and *Koon* or *Goon*, ‘finished, exhausted’) or Rangoon, the name it has ever since borne, and made it the seat of the vice-royalty which he established.” \* In the last decade of the eighteenth century, the English obtained leave to establish a factory in Rangoon, surrounding it by a brick wall, and hoisting the British colours. Had they not been hauled down then, as at the end of our first war in 1826, but as in 1852-53, the result of the second war, established for ever, at the rate of progression which has gone on in our time, it is not improbable that Burma and India would have worked so well together that the Government of the latter great country would never have got into debt, nor have required a loan!

To impress the importance of Rangoon more on the memory, I may here remark that it is the commercial capital of a country with a little more than 3,700,000 inhabitants, but with exports and imports, in propor-

\* See “Ashé Pyee,” pp. 77-78.

tion to the population, ten times greater than those of "stupendous, darkly mystical, and pagan" India!

Supposing that the entire commerce of south-west China and independent Burma were added to that of British Burma, we may conceive what a vast opening there would be for the merchants of Great Britain!

Relating his now famous journey from Yunnan, in south-west China, to Bhamo in Northern Burma, Mr. Colquhoun said it was a country without roads, and with scarcely any trade. "The mineral wealth is considerable. The expedition passed on its way gold, copper, salt, iron, silver, and lead mines; but inquiry about mineral treasures was dangerous, and therefore no trustworthy information could be got respecting them. The travellers found, however, that the best tea in China comes from the Shan territory, about five days south of the Yunnan frontier. The immense cost of carriage prevents this tea from being exported to Europe, but Mr. Colquhoun had no hesitation in saying that before many years are over it will be shipped to China itself as well as to the rest of the world from our port of Rangoon."\*

But not only with tea; for many other valuable mercantile commodities from south-west China will probably, ere long, be shipped from Rangoon. I have frequently remarked † on the vast importance of such

\* Report of lecture in "Daily News," November 14th, 1882.

† See "Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma," "Ashé Pyee," &c.

a trade being firmly established, through our energy and enterprise; and, as we talk of money being the sinews of war, so Burma may eventually become—a united Burma, that is—the sinews of our exchequer in India.

Let us now pass on to the Irawadi river, the grand artery of Burma, and the constant feeder of Rangoon with the commerce and wealth of the upper country, and in some measure of south-west China and the various states around, and to the northward of Mandalay, the Burman capital, now so well known to the British merchants of Rangoon, and world-famous by deeds of dreadful note.

Irawadi (Airâvati) is compounded of *aira*, “moisture,” and *vati*, “like,” in Sanskrit. It is the name given to Indra’s (female) elephant, and signifies “great moisture,” or water. Indra, in fact, answers to Zeus (Jupiter), the heaven or sky, including the atmosphere, the immediate source of rain; hence appropriate for a river.\*

As Egypt has now become a “household word” with Englishmen, I may here remark that Burma is inhabited, in the words of Sir Arthur Phayre, “mainly by people of the Burmese race, and which is as distinctly the country of the Irawadi and its tributaries as Egypt is the gift of the Nile.”

The river Irawadi, which is wholly within the old Empire, is supposed to be nearly eleven hundred miles

\* See “Ashé Pyee,” pp. 81, 155.



in length. This noble stream discharges itself by fourteen different mouths into the Bay of Bengal, lat.  $18^{\circ}$ , just south of Cape Negrais. The Delta, as before remarked, covers an area of upwards of 10,000 square miles, or *considerably more than that of the Nile*, and its three sides are about 135, 145, and 113 miles in length respectively. The Irawadi is navigable for river-steamers as far as Bhamo, 600 miles beyond the British frontier. The velocity of its waters, when the river is full, is said to be five miles an hour. General Fytche informs us that "Colonel Yule, from facts collected by him, assumes that the Irawadi takes its rise in the lofty Langtam range of the Himalayas, whose peaks, covered with perpetual snow, separate the valleys inhabited by the Shan race of Khantis from the head-waters of the sacred Brahmaputra."\*

It would be impossible to enter here into any disquisition regarding the sources of this noble river; but from what has been said,† we may form some idea of its sublimity and grandeur. However, I may mention that, at page 203 of the little volume "*Ashé Pyée*," will be found some matter regarding the head-waters of the Irawadi, in which are, especially worthy of notice, the original remarks furnished to the author by that well-known, zealous, and pains-taking geographer of the India Office, Mr. Trelawney Saunders.

\* "*Burma, Past and Present*," vol. i. p. 268.

† See also "*Ashé Pyée*," p. 79.

I will now say a few words on the FORESTS OF BURMA; but, true enough, it is impossible to enumerate the various kinds of trees which, in the golden country, or Ashé Pyee, rear their heads in proud magnificence. Of course the chief is the teak, which, although rare in Hindustan, and hardly mentioned in any of our accounts of Siam, “constitutes the principal glory of the Burman forests.”\* In “Ashé Pyee” I have given various remarks on the importance attached, for a long period, to the growth of teak in Burma, and the interest taken by the Indian Government in the subject. It is also stated that (not very long ago) some of the finest merchant ships ever seen in the Thames were built at Calcutta of teak-wood from the forests of Pegu. Again, I was led to remark:—

“Forest conservancy, as well as prudent irrigation and extensive railway communication, must ever occupy a conspicuous place in the world’s agents for the prevention of famine; and, considering the relative positions of India and Burma (the dry and the moist countries), how, at any time, as in the recent distressing Indian famines, want may be sorely felt in the land of the Veda and the Koran, every cry for assistance will surely be met, as heretofore, from the fertile region of Gautama. In such a case, one might fancy the waving of the trees signifying their acquiescence in the good work—waving ‘in sign of worship’ (as

\* See also “Ashé Pyee,” p. 119, and Sir Arthur Phayre’s Notes on Teak Timber, p. 162.

sung by Milton)—at being the means of a Power ever ready and willing to save. Burma can not only furnish you with timber to build your ship, but also with an endless supply of food to freight it with. It may be observed, in a general way, that the trees of this country are superb; and so are the flowers, ever blooming, and flourishing, and beautiful. The English traveller in Burma may become sated with hills and dales, and trees and flowers; and the ubiquitous American here sometimes discovers scenery reminding him of his own sublime and ever-matchless prairie lands. Doubtless, he is rarely sated with the 'sylvan scenery' of various parts of Burma, which, according to the romantic and contemplative Earl of Beaconsfield, 'never palls.' The great statesman, with his fondness for trees (in this respect like Burke and other famous men, not forgetting our present great and energetic Premier, Mr. Gladstone), would certainly have admired those of Burma, from the noble teak down to the wayward bamboo, with its dense columns, in the jungle or forest, arranged like the aisles of a cathedral. The forests of Burma are, of course, filled with nats, or spirits, like the forests of Scandinavia and India, or all over the world. Such arboreal sprites were probably at first inclined, in Pegu and Tenasserim, from the prospect of not being discovered, to view the British Conservators with favour; but they must now take a different view of the subject.

"Not very long ago, when I was in Burma for the

second time—1863-64—forest work in a great measure consisted in clearing away jungle from around young plants to protect them from fire, cutting away creepers and parasitical plants, and removing obstructions to the due development of teak. During the above year, this work was carried on with extreme diligence in the Prome, Tharawadi, and Sittang sections:—15,286 teak, and 56,333 other kinds of trees were girdled; 304,756 young teak trees were cleared; and 72,841 trees of other kinds were cut down; 108,689 creepers were cut. And here it may be interesting to state that as the botanical productions of 'Ashé Pyee are unrivalled, it is almost worth a visit to Burma to see the 'great variety of creepers and wonderful luxuriance of the undergrowth in the forests.' Ferns and orchids, the rapid-growing bamboo, with its fantastic forms, and Flora's own gem, the finest indigenous tree in Chin-India, *Amherstia Nobilis*\*—all will give the diligent and inquiring traveller food for meditation and delight." To him might appear a "quiet spirit" in the Burman woods and forests, as the Burmese in their nats have, a peculiar spirit of their own; though not, of course, the "Spirit of Poetry," of which it is written by Longfellow, the American poet whom the British nation has so delighted to honour:—

Here amid  
The silent majesty of these deep woods,  
Its presence shall uplift thy thoughts from earth,

\* See "Our Burmese Wars," &c., p. 309.

As to the sunshine and the pure bright air  
 Their tops the green trees lift. Hence gifted bards  
 Have ever loved the calm and quiet shades.

Teak, it may be remarked, is one of the numerous monopolies of the monopolising King of UPPER BURMA; of which neglected, misgoverned, and undeveloped country, where nature has done so much, and man so little, it is thought by the most eminent living authority, one of our most distinguished rulers in the East, that its occupation—with an area of not less than 130,000 square miles, including the tributary Shan states, and numerous wild and troublesome tribes—“would involve difficulties which it is not desirable, except from dire necessity, to encounter. If we can have a free right of way through for trade with China, with the good-will both of Burma and China”—not yet, I am sorry to say, quite apparent—“that will be far better for British material interests and British honour than the violent act of annexation.”\*

Judging from the wonderful progress made in BRITISH BURMA during thirty years, the population more than doubled, the revenue (the sea-board trade alone upwards of £5,000,000 sterling) quadrupled, and, not the least pleasing aspect, the nation “happy and contented”—and no wonder, with an external trade the value of which has risen 117 per cent. in the last ten years—if the same prosperity had been allowed to attend Upper Burma, what would now have been the result of a conspicuous counterpart to a successful administra-

\* “Ashé Pyee,” p. 99.

tion?—probably nothing short of large contributions to the Indian exchequer! The mineral resources of Upper Burma would have been a splendid set-off to the rice of Lower, for it is “the rice produce that has chiefly created and maintained the prosperity of British Burma.”

The “declared value of the rice exported in the year 1880-81 was £5,655,000, while that of teak was a little over a million.” Thus has BRITISH BURMA struggled on in an unnatural position, single-handed, and still there is nothing to equal her prosperous career in the entire history of British Empire in the East!

As Egypt was in ancient times the granary of the world, so is British Burma at present the granary of the Bay of Bengal, or of India; or it may be one day of the British Isles. The trade in Ngapee—fish-paste—is also very large.\* This condiment of ill-odour is highly relished by the Burmese. The imports of cotton, yarn, and goods, silk, wool, and apparel have increased; while the imports of iron and machinery for mills are also larger, these being of two kinds: rice mills which free the grain from the husk and prepare it for the European, American, and Chinese markets, and steam saw-mills.

From a late most admirable report we also learn that education had greatly flourished in British

\* It will hardly be credited that the export value of Ngapee from the Rangoon district to Upper Burma amounted, in 1879-80, to £200,000.

Burma, of which I never had any doubt from the first, and having afterwards some opportunities of judging, from having been appointed, in 1865-66, inspector of seaport schools in Pegu, Arakan, and Tenasserim. The total number of children in Government and inspected schools has risen, in the last ten years, from 2,456, to nearly 86,000. Through the power of education, especially the study of English, the Burmese are now becoming admirably adapted for that inestimable boon to cities or towns, East or West, *Local Self-government*; and it was pleasing to read in the *Gazette of India*, of August 1882, about the municipal elections in Rangoon, where, among the members elected to represent the different communities and bodies, the Burmese had five (5) representatives, the same number as the Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Armenians, Jews, and Parsis collectively. Burmese enthusiasm in this matter really came to the front.

Opium-smoking and opium-eating in British Burma (as before in India and China) have of late occupied much public attention; but the Government have done all in their power to lessen the consumption of this favourite drug in Chin-India, the proper and moderate use of which is valuable in such watery Eastern climes, as tending, when used and not abused, to promote health, or keep away disease, which is often found to be the case among the moderate consumers of ale, tobacco, wine, and spirits, in our own country.

The Burmese are, on the whole, a very sober people. But if, in time, all chance of procuring cheap opium shall be taken away from him, the Burman, like the British soldier or sailor, will never exist without his loved tobacco. Man, woman, and child, must draw consolation from the seductive weed; and the Burmese lady, after gracefully placing a flower in her hair, takes up her cheroot as a matter of course, thereby aiding her powers of execution on the hearts of the listless sons of Gautama. It may here be also noted that the Burmese are generally clean smokers, in this respect forming a striking contrast to the occupants of our "smoking" railway carriages at home.

The SOCIAL CONDITION of the people of British Burma is generally similar throughout the three divisions. Everywhere in the plains the land is held independent of any superior, the estates averaging from eight to ten acres in extent. They seldom exceed ten acres. With reference to the climate, the people have plenty of food and clothing. The houses of the peasantry, whether on the hills or on the plains, are built of bamboo, and have the floors raised on platforms, so as to be above the reach of the annual flood, say from May till October. They are never built on the ground. Describing the national character of the Burmese, it has been well and truly remarked that "the general disposition of the inhabitants is strikingly contrasted with that of the natives of Bengal, from which they are only separated by a narrow



range of mountains." The Burmese are described as a "lively, inquisitive race, active, irascible, and impatient"; and this is a fair picture of the people. It has frequently been remarked that the Burman is a lazy creature, only caring for the passing day; and a recent sojourner in the land informed the Society of Arts, doubtless to the extreme dismay of my scientific and enterprising friend, Mr. Routledge, who has a grand scheme in prospect for the manufacture of paper from the bamboo in Burma—"whether Mr. Routledge would get over the labour difficulty he did not know, but he never saw a Burmese man work at all." The women did everything; and this versatile and pleasant traveller seemed to have a tinge of the old "age of chivalry" about him, when he remarked that "the women were exceedingly pretty, and dressed in the most graceful and becoming way." Now, in what is thus brought forward we have the extremes of description. The Burmese are not, as a general rule, very lazy; nor are the ladies, to the European eye at least, very pretty. It strikes me as almost impossible to couple beauty with the flat Mongolian type of mankind, or, in this case, of woman-kind. That there is something captivating and pleasing about the Burmese woman's appearance is undeniable; but in no respect, as I have said elsewhere, can beauty in Burma, if it exist at all, be "matchless deemed." My gallant and learned friend, General Fytche, highly commends women among the Burmese, whose position

is a much higher and independent one than amongst Mahomedans and Hindus. "She is with them," he says, "not the mere slave of passion, but has equal rights, and is the recognised and duly honoured help-mate of man, and, in fact, bears a more prominent share in the transaction of the more ordinary affairs of life than is the case, perhaps, with any other people, either Eastern or Western."

**COSTUME.**—The long flowing robes, which give the females of India such a graceful and classical appearance, we look for in vain in Burma. The female petticoat is styled *hta-mein*. The *potso* of the men—also of bright silk or cotton—reaches from the waist to the ankles. The men generally wear a smart jacket, which, with the under *toga*, in part tucked in like the dress of the women, shoes, and a handsome *dhà*—the universal weapon of Burma, with which the Burman can make a stockade or a tooth-pick—the whole surmounted by a muslin ring of turband—complete the male costume, which is sometimes striking enough. The jetty tresses of the Burmese beauties, when adorned with flowers, have a peculiar fascination about them; while, with the other sex, the nob of hair, and ears bored, also the pendent lobes, common to both sexes, like the sacred ears of Gautama—make you feel that you are gazing on an entirely new picture in the history of costume.

**MARRIAGE.**—Among the Burmese marriage is purely "a simple civil right." "On the parents giving

their consent to the marriage," writes the author of "Burma, Past and Present," "the *Corbeille de nocce* is furnished by the bridegroom according to his means, and the marriage takes place immediately." Then there is a grand feast, with a *pooay* or play. "The happy couple eat out of the same dish before the assembled guests; after which the bridegroom presents the bride with *hla-pet* (pickled tea from Thein-nec), the compliment is returned, and the ceremony is practically brought to a close." \* The simplicity of the marriage ceremony in Burma is thus apparent.

GAMES.—The principal games among the Burmese are wrestling, cock and buffalo fighting, elephant racing, football, and boat-racing. They have also a sort of dice to aid their gambling propensities. At the buffalo-fights men sit on the beasts, which rush at each other with tremendous fury. Frequently the horns become locked together, when a trial of strength ensues, each pushing his adversary as far back as possible. The buffalo is seldom killed, but the rider is often thrown. To the Burmese ladies the fight is quite as exciting as the bull-fight to the ladies of Spain. Football is played with a small ball of wicker-work, very light, of course; the players form a circle, and keep up the ball with remarkable skill; with knee or foot they send it flying in every direction, as if they were perfect masters in the law of

\* "Burma, Past and Present," vol. ii. pp. 69-70.

projectiles. Only three or four years ago I learned that the English football had become common among the Burmese. They now affect Rugby to a considerable extent, and should a Burmese team appear in this country, that famous institution for learning and football may have to look to its laurels. It was even reported that the Burmese had beat one of our European regiments at football! In boat-racing, the Burmese shine to great advantage. Their boats are very long and very narrow, with some twenty rowers on a side, and are paddled along at an incredible speed. The Burmese posture of defiance is common in the pleasure as well as in the war-boat. A national game, of minor importance, is a sort of draughts. The players commence by drawing squares on the ground, and seated occasionally in a state of profound abstraction before a move, they play away with a gravity worthy of the great Gautama himself. The Burmese enjoy a game of cards quite as much as the old ladies of England. They are fond of music; and the Burmese beauty with her *harmonicon* can discourse most eloquently to love-sick swains. They are also fond of dancing; when, among the women as fairies, the men frequently display their skill in the dress of devils. What the sensation-drama is to the British public, the striking *pooay* or play is to the Burman. As General Fytche has shown, the Burmese have certainly some dramatic talent among them.

A BURMESE FUNERAL.—There is something strange

about a Burmese funeral. The ceremony is sure to arrest the attention of the traveller on his entering the golden land. The humble Burmese funeral has frequently a decided air of true sorrow about it, amounting on some occasions to what the Arabs style *sorrow devouring sorrow*, proving that the Burmese are by no means destitute of good feeling. Shortly after the capture of Rangoon, some of our officers saw a procession following the remains of an old woman. Women and children attended as well as men; and three priests brought up the rear. The corpse is placed in a coffin made of matting, and is carried by four men. Old women were there, howling in a most disconsolate manner. On reaching the burial-ground, the Phongyees (or priests) came forward, and took up their position on a raised platform at the head of the grave. Before the priests were placed three large dishes of plantains, and dried fish. Pieces of wood were placed across the grave, and the coffin rested on them. The men then kneeled round the priests, and the women and children formed an outer semicircle. A Phongyee then repeated a few prayers, to which the men responded. Then a long prayer was said, and, while the priest was speaking, a man was pouring water slowly on the ground from a small earthenware vessel. This finished the ceremony, and the Phongyees, having had their provisions carefully collected, departed. The corpse was then taken from the coffin and buried. Buddhists, it must be remembered, bury as well as

burn; the latter mode being generally confined to funerals of a more expensive character. Pouring the water from the earthen vessel is to signify the spirit departing from the body, or taking its "flight on high." Sometimes the last rites are performed with extravagant splendour. The bier of the deceased, raised on high, and enclosed in the model of a Buddhist temple, borne along on the shoulders of some dozens of bearers; the glaring red and gilt, and silvery ornaments of the grotesque machine, to which a grace is given by the white flags and umbrellas attached to it; the long train of followers, chiefly women in rear, and Phongyees in front: such is a faint outline of the richer Burmese funeral.

At the risk of being considered to have got into a melancholy mood at this stage of my discourse, I hope to entertain my readers with a brief description of Phongyee obsequies, which I wrote while marching with the Martaban column, towards the end of the second Burmese war.\* A noble Phongyee who had come from Ava had died at Beling, where he was now lying in state in all the gorgeous display of "barbaric" pomp. His bier, raised on high, and richly gilt, stood on an elaborately-wrought pedestal, the whole surmounted by large white umbrellas, and by muslin, draped with considerable taste. On all sides there were lines of Chinese-like pictures, with all the fantastic mummeries of superstition depicted thereon.

\* See "Pegu, a Narrative of the Second Burmese War," p. 191.

The dead Phongyee, who lay quietly taking his supreme rest in the best of honey, was surrounded by some really good paintings, the subjects of which seemed to defy description. Thus had he lain for four months, and would lie, they said, for eight more, he being a very great man. After this stately repose, he would be taken out with great show, amidst the firing of guns and every kind of display pertaining to the Burmese pyrotechnic art; combustible matter would then be placed beside the corpse, and from some distance people from many villages would fire their rude rockets and endeavour to set the "muni" (saint) on fire. The successful rocket is regarded as a "winged messenger," to tell the multitude that the soul of the deceased has gone to heaven!

GAUTAMA.—Among what have been styled the "*stratas* of pseudo-religious fiction, in which are preserved the *débris* and the fossilised skeletons of the faith,"\* it is by no means easy to get a satisfactory origin of Gautama, even although the priority of Buddhism, the original patriarchal system, is now generally admitted. In regard to their religion, the Burmese are followers of Buddha, whose image is, in a manner, worshipped throughout the country under the name of Gautama. The whole system of Buddha is a vast improvement on miserable and degrading atheism, and leaves a wide margin for the improvement of a large portion of the human race.

\* "Ashé Pyee," chap. ix. p. 137.

One of the Burmese theories or traditions on the origin of Gautama runs thus:—At the creation of the world by the Supreme Being, some angels, or inhabitants of the other world, came down below and tasted of the earth. One of them found the new material so excellent that he ate so much he could not again ascend. He therefore remained on earth—sphinx-like, with “earnest eyes” and a “sad, tranquil mien”—watching over mankind to the present day, through all their innumerable vicissitudes. As I have remarked elsewhere, “Buddha awakes from a state of felicitous nonentity, and assumes his operative and creative qualities,” when at Rangoon we behold him “incarnate as Gautama.” In short, the Phongyee, or yellow-robed priest of Burma, may be said to represent, on a humble scale, the great teacher of mankind, Gautama, who is believed to have founded Buddhism two or three thousand years ago.

The dependence of the Burmese priesthood of Gautama on charity reminds one of the usages of the primitive Christian professors, on which I have remarked in my last work.\* The subject of Gautama alone would furnish material for several discourses; so I shall not dwell long on this subject, which pertains to a creed embracing (in China and Chin-India) some four hundred millions of mankind. To show what a vast subject it is, even with reference to Burma, as observed by an able critic, “the whole of Burmese

\* “Ashé Pyee,” p. 146.



literature treats of the Buddha and his 550 previous existences."

An English critic, alluding to my chapters on national character and religion—which he is pleased to style interesting—cannot believe that *Nirvana* means "the Eternal City." But such it is really termed by the last Buddha, Gautama himself. In many respects it appears to resemble what, in our Christian belief, we hope for as a city of the immortals, prepared in a "better," or "heavenly" country. The "longing after immortality" we know to be not uncommon in the creeds of the East. The old Burmese capital, Amara-pura, which succeeded Ava, was distinguished as the "city of the immortals"; and the Hindus have their far-famed *amreeta*, or cup of immortality.

The poet, Southey, in his famous mythological poem, the "Curse of Kehama," some may remember, makes Kehama say to the pure and fascinating heroine, Kailyal:—

Mine thou must be, being doom'd with me to share  
The Amreeta-cup of immortality.

A city, then, where an eternity is to be passed, could not have been more aptly styled by the old teacher, Gautama, than as "the Eternal City." Gautama, like Cato, as drawn by our own Addison, doubtless, inculcated strong ideas regarding the "varieties of untried being" that may have to be undergone in the eternal world. Gautama, wandering about doing good, alludes to his grand work of teaching all sentient

beings the way to salvation by providing them with a ferry-boat over this vain sea of passions, and guiding them into the path leading to the eternal city (Neibbhan, or Nirvana). With complete annihilation of matter (Neibbhan) commences the eternity of spiritual life. I shall conclude these few cursory remarks by citing a most interesting passage from the work of an able exponent of the doctrines of Gautama, which may draw a few English students to the wonderful study of Buddhism:—"The preachings of Gautama were not confined to the narrow limits of man's abode. All beings inhabiting the mansions of the gods or nats benefited by the publication of his doctrines, and he occasionally visited the celestial regions where they reside. On one occasion he proceeded there for the purpose of specially announcing the perfect law to his mother."\* I may here also state that, by Burmese sages, Gautama is identified with the Saviour of mankind, and Maha Maria, "the great Mary," with the supposed mother of the far-famed Eastern teacher,—to say nothing of Gautama's being "entered as a saint in the Roman calendar, under the title of St. Josaphat." From Gautama I now proceed to the concluding section of my discourse, which I humbly trust will be found not the least interesting portion of it.

BURMESE BELLS.—Early in June, 1882, "Great Paul," in the shape of a bell, achieved an elevated

\* "Burma, Past and Present," by General Albert Fytche, C.S.I., vol. ii. (note) p. 162; also "Ashé Pyee," p. 149.

position in the chief Protestant Temple of the world, when Britons of an imaginative turn of mind, who had lived in Burma, might have been excused fancying that among the *nats* (good spirits) joy was rung forth from all the little bells within the *tees* (umbrellas) of the golden temples in the golden land, in honour of their mighty brother, Great Paul. And from no other country in the world could the welcome have been so appropriate, as, from their devotion to them, from time immemorial, the Burmese race would seem to have considered that there is something more than mere sound about their bells. They may look upon the tinkling of the smaller bells on the summits of their temples, as Æolus wafts them to and fro, and the volume of sound from striking the larger in the manner of gongs at their festivals, as prophetic of good and happy times—it may be in the service of a *Maistree* (chief) Buddha yet to come. The present Gautama is the fourth Buddha, and, as I have said elsewhere, a fifth or greater than any hitherto—perhaps emblematic of Great Britain ruling over a *United Burma*—is yet to come.

The Burmese, on hearing that our Great Paul was “in place”—and the more enlightened of them, of course, were inclined to ponder and pause over the subject—may have fancied that the British people had entered a new phase of hero-worship in the monster-bell, and, for anything we know, such an idea may have given them a new view of things celestial which might tend

to aid the work of the schoolmaster and the missionary.

Gautama has, for numerous ages, been accustomed to the sound of the bell. The great Apostle of the Gentiles having now been honoured by the Great Paul being placed in his magnificent temple; "perhaps," thought the Burmese, "a greater than our teacher, Gautama, is here!" Perhaps, there was also a stir among the local nats or elves, or fairies (true lovers of bells), while anticipation pointed them out a succession of ministering or "child" angels. Yes, doubtless, all the Burmese bells sounded forth and tinkled in honour of Great Paul.

From this imaginative sketch, I now turn to reality. It is more than thirty-one years since, after the capture of Rangoon, I had my attention first drawn to the chaste and artistic Burmese bells. Moving along with the guns, ample time was afforded to behold with admiration the solemn temples which lined the road on each side. These temples appeared similar to those we had already seen—the distinguishing temple of this region—an irregular, solid cone, surmounted by an elegant top, over which is the *tee* gracefully fringed with bells, which emit sweet music at the bidding of *Æolus*.

I also mentioned in the early *Narrative* how it was interesting to learn that Solomon, King of Israel, had bells suspended about his far-famed temple, which were probably intended, "by the sound they produced

on being agitated by the wind, to keep off the birds from the consecrated edifice." Like means are said to have been adopted on the Grecian temples. And, again, come the bells which must this time accompany a brief telescopic view of the great Pagoda Shwé Dagon. The grand temple, on its gorgeous summit being viewed through a telescope, suggests to the fancy some enchanted hill, on the top of which a band of fairies have found their abode, far away from the haunts of men; waving golden leaves, causing the tinkling of the bells, rich gold work, all so simply protected by the golden *tee*, draw forth admiration. Just under such a graceful protector Charles Lamb might have placed his "child angel."\* From the base to the summit, the Pagoda measures 330 feet; and yet, from its graceful proportions, it is difficult to believe the height to be so great. The old, brick, gigantic pile is, therefore—not, of course, reckoning the height of the hill or terrace on which it stands, but from its base—about 150 feet less in height than St. Paul's.† In the north-east of the upper terrace we found a magnificent bell, which is thus described:—It is 24 feet in circumference; the metal is 2 feet thick; and its height is 10 or 12 feet. The weight was thought to be "prodigious," but it did not exceed 90,000 lbs; and it was suspended a little more than a

\* See "Essays of Elia."

† Including its elevated position, the temple stands about the same height as our magnificent cathedral.

foot above the ground. The Governor-General might have had it hung before Government House, in Calcutta; and it certainly would have been one of the greatest curiosities in the city of palaces. Burmese characters are engraved on the entire outside of the bell. It was reported at Rangoon that this monster-bell was destined for Windsor Castle; but the local authorities not having the various means and appliances to put the sonorous "creature" safely on board ship, I believe it never was sent home. It is certainly not now on the Upper Terrace of the Great Pagoda.\* A bell of more modest pretensions is still on the west face. It was the "monarch of the peal," during the first Burmese war (1824-26). The weight, according to Havclock (afterwards the great Sir Henry), is 18,000 pounds avoirdupois; this is considerably less than half the size of Great Paul, which weighs, without the hanging gear,† seventeen tons, or about 38,000 lbs. It is broken in several places, and, like its younger but far bigger brother, is covered with writing—I believe mythological passages relative to the religion and maxims of *Gautama*. The large Burmese bells are struck on the occasion of a Burmese beauty, or person of distinction, coming to present offerings; also to summon the Phongyees on feast-days.

General Albert Fytche, in his "Burma, Past and Present," has some most interesting information on Burmese bells:—"The Burmese," he says, "have a

\* See also Addenda.

† About three tons more.

great love for bells and gongs, and are very clever in casting them. The largest bell in the world, with the exception of the one presented by the Empress Anne to the Moscow Cathedral, was cast at Mergoon in 1796, for the pagoda then building there by the King. It is 12 feet high, with an external diameter at the lip of 16 feet 3 inches, and weighs 90 tons, or some fourteen times heavier than the great bell of St. Paul's" (not the new 'Great Paul). "Burmese gongs, varying in size from 3 feet to 3 inches, have a much finer and deeper tone than Chinese ones; and a triangular one, peculiar to Burma, and used on 'worship days' by the people on their way to the pagodas, which spins round when struck, has a very remarkable sound, maintained in prolonged surging musical vibrations." But keeping to the bells, I shall now remark, from what I was informed in Burma,—and which I have lately had corroborated by the great Burmese authority, Sir Arthur Phayre,—that, as to the casting of bells in Burma, it would be a long business to describe; but the women throw in their gold and silver ornaments from religious enthusiasm. "I have often witnessed it," writes Sir Arthur, "and very interesting it is." The bell, a sketch of which is presented as a frontispiece, is a fairly correct model of the original monster of sound I have already described. It was cast for me shortly after the capture of Rangoon, and was shipped thirty-one years ago, with all a soldier's pride in his *first* important action, to

my respected father's castle in Scotland. It is made of genuine Burmese bell-metal, and, I believe, was the work of mechanics associated with the casting of large Burmese bells, especially of the larger one which adorned the upper terrace of the great Shwé Dagon Pagoda. Judging by the vast interest created in London by the transit of Great Paul to the city, it seems hard that, unlike Burmese bells, our grand monsters of sound are generally hid away from the sight of men. The excitement of arrival over, little has since been heard of the welcome gift to our noble Cathedral. With a Dickens-like graphic power, it was clearly proved that, on the goal being reached, though weighty in itself, it was far from the cause of heaviness in others, from whom came occasional sallies of humour regarding the great bell. Had it remained exposed to public view a little longer, there is no telling what a number of good humorous things might have been said about it.

One of our great dailies, also, in a leading article, discusses Great Paul *in place*, and takes care to allude to its note (in E flat) as being "clear and piercing."\* In fact, there was as much enthusiasm—I will not say "religious"—created by the advent of Great Paul in London, as during the casting of a great bell in Burma. And there can be little or no doubt that, as in the golden land, English ideas of bells are much tinctured with religion. The church or

\* "Daily News," June 3rd, 1882.



Sunday bells of England, or the Sabbath bells of Scotland, the marriage bells, "joy-bells" in general, and, of course, the solemn funeral bell, are all more or less connected with religion, gratitude, sorrow, and joy.

I now proceed to offer a very few remarks on the literature of bells; for there has been nearly as much attention paid to them in European, as in Burmese or other Oriental literature. To commence with Shakespeare. In *Macbeth*, the striking on the bell before King Duncan's death, and the ringing of the "alarm bell" after the "deed" is done, form important action in the immortal tragedy. Gray, with his well-known curfew, tolling "the knell of parting day"; Moore, singing so sweetly of "those evening bells," which lead us to think of the "green spots in memory's waste"; Lord Byron's description of the night of the battle before Waterloo, when "all went merry as a marriage bell"; Longfellow, in his "Belfry of Bruges," who "heard a heart of iron beating in the ancient tower,"

Then most musical and solemn, bringing back the olden times  
With their strange unearthly changes, rang the melancholy chimes.

And that strange, erratic genius, Edgar Allan Poe, as well as our favourite Poet Laureate, have frequently evinced in their works, the love of bells. Such writers, and many more that could be cited, force on us the idea that religion, victory, joy, and sorrow, in fact, many phases of human kinds of existence, owe much of their intensity to the sound of the bell in every

ime. In prose, one great writer may be mentioned—the pious Jeremy Taylor—who, quoting an Italian proverb (which has an Oriental tinge about it), says, “We have sat down to meat at the sound of a bell.”

I have already alluded to the interest created among the Burmese by the casting of their bells; and this brings to mind that I have not yet mentioned the great German poet, Schiller, one of whose immortal poems, as students well know, is “The Song of the Bell.” It would be well if it were translated into Burmese for the edification of King Theebau and the Court parasites of Upper Burma. Schiller draws many wise morals from the casting of the bell. His bell is not a mere instrument of sound, although “*Vivos voco, Mortuos plango, Fulgura frango*,” head the poem:—

The Bell that in the dam's deep hole  
Our hands with help of fire prepare,  
From the high belfry tower will toll,  
And witness of us loudly bear.  
’T will there endure till distant days,  
On many an ear its sounds will dwell,  
Sad wailings with the mourner raise,  
The chorus of devotion swell.  
Whatever changeful fate may bring  
To be man's portion here below,  
Against its metal crown will ring,  
And through the nations echoing go.

Then, alluding to the heap of materials dissolving, he says:—

Foam and bubble free  
Must the mixture be,  
That from metal void of stain  
Pure and full may rise the strain.

Eventually, the poet sings:—

Let the casting be begun !  
 Traced already is the breach ;  
 Yet before we let it run,  
 Heaven's protecting aid beseech !

And, considerably further on, a most important operation in the casting of a bell is arrived at:—

Let us now the mould destroy,  
 Well it has fulfil'd its part,  
 That the beautiful shape with joy  
 May inspire both eye and heart.  
 Wield the hammer, wield,  
 Till the mantle yield !  
 Would we raise the Bell on high,  
 Must the mould to atoms fly.

We now come to a few remarkable verses, with sentiments applicable to Eastern, as well as Western countries—both equally subject to revolutions—well worthy of study by restless spirits in all great cities. The capitals of Upper Burma have long been famous for rebellion, as those read in Burmese history can easily attest ; but there can be no doubt that, considering the dire and cruel oppression they have long suffered, there is a very much stronger excuse for revolution at Mandalay\* than in Paris:—

The founder may destroy the mould  
 With cunning hand, if time it be ;  
 But woe, if, raging uncontrol'd,  
 The glowing bronze itself should free !

\* Huc, in Cochinchina, for revolution, seems now desirous of imitating Ava and Mandalay.

Woe when within a city's walls,  
 Where fire-brands secretly are pil'd,  
 The people bursting from their thralls,  
 Tread their own path with fury wild!

Schiller now boldly and wisely asserts :—

Sedition then the Bell surrounds,  
 And bids it yield a howling tone ;  
 And, meant for none but peaceful sounds,  
 The signal to the fray spurs on.

The grand consummation is reached in the succeeding stanza, when the poet, with a master's hand, sketches the awful results of the great French Revolution. And all this adorns "The Song of the Bell." But the peaceful moral comes at last :—

Now let us gather round the frame !  
 The ring let ev'ry workman swell,  
 That we may consecrate the Bell !  
 CONCORDIA be henceforth its name,  
 Assombling all the loving throng  
 In harmony and union strong !\*

Pity it is that such a "harmony and union strong" do not at present exist—in fact, have never existed—between Upper and British Burma! The King, or Golden Foot, has long been on his trial; and he lately sent us the draft of a treaty which the British Government could not possibly entertain, and consequently declined. The Government are as anxious to avoid war in Burma as in South Africa; so we must just hope for the best. I repeat that Upper Burma is the high road—and the only really practicable one—

\* "Schiller's Poems," translated by E. A. Bowring, C.B., M.P.

agreed upon; and the Englishman contented himself with Dr. Arnold's more modest signification, that it is simply the "biography of nations."

Was France, *la belle France*, to rise again in a new fashion, through some extraordinary stroke of colonial success and power? And was England, mighty England, ere long to resign her position as the glory of the world, and the star of Albion to inevitably decline? Such, and various other topics, would form the subjects of conversation when the two friends met; and, on the present occasion, we beheld them, as ready mentioned, on the famous ground of Leicester-re. They took a seat in the (to them) new public, which had been so liberally and, in some so tastefully ornamented; and, surrounded by of Hunter, Hogarth, Newton, and Reynolds, we had resided in this square, they could including to the improvements made since 7. The recent destruction of the ever-

enemies any longer. But," quietly continued the Englishman, who, as a proper John Bull, had ever an eye to the national interests, "one thing is certain in this new Gallic race for conquest: England sees a ray of light—*une ligne lumineuse*, as you say—in French presence at Tonquin, as it will force us to annex Upper Burma, which we ought to have done long ago."

"Ah—there you are!" ejaculated the Frenchman. "You English are ever wanting to square up, fight, then seize, regulate, and appropriate, in the most approved manner possible, whatever you can lay hands on; but if poor France, or any other country, desires a distant island home, or an inland colony, you are down upon us\* as if we were pirates, or 'water-rats,' as your grand Shakspeare says. Depend upon it, the occupation of Tonquin by the French will do the commercial interests of Europe and Asia as much good as has been done by the British occupation of Lower

caution, than to be ruined by an over-security; or words to that effect. They are cautious, because they value independence and the rights of nations more than has ever been done before."

"But too much caution nearly made you lose New Zealand, and too much caution may make France lose the wealth untold of Tonquin and Yunnan," said the Frenchman. "Depend upon it, my dear friend, in these unsettled times you must occasionally take the defiant bull by the horns, leaving the order to do so to be considered hereafter."

"This reminds me of our 'great Lord Clive,' as your Voltaire styles him," rejoined the Englishman; "when, playing at cards, he wrote to his second in command concerning the Dutch at Chinsurah, on the Hoogly—'Dear Forde, fight them immediately! I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow.'"

"Men like your Oliver Cromwell and Lord Clive would be of vast use to any country at the present time," quietly interposed the Frenchman.

"Yes, in the general rage for self-government and thirst for empire, such men would be invaluable; require men at the helm of the strongest decision of character, and of such we have many in France and England," said the Englishman. "But they may yet divide the sovereignty in Eastern Asia," he continued, "if all goes well in this great and truly hazardous expedition, which seems to me almost like a leap into the impassable."

"But why so hazardous?" enquired the Frenchman, puzzled at an Englishman's supposing anything to be dangerous if entered into with force and energy.

"It will be hazardous in every respect," replied his friend. "A determined enemy, partly, and soon to be entirely, under Chinese control, Black Flags, stubborn entrenchments, inundations, and so forth. Take my word for it, even supposing success at the commencement, from the moment you become masters of Tonquin, or of all Cochin-China, French troubles will commence with a vengeance. The Chinese, especially in the south-west, and, it may be, the Siamese, the



your Ney or Druot ; but you hardly know what you want, my good friend," interrupted the Englishman. "When you once begin there will be no stopping you. Look at old England ! We began our Indian Empire in the humblest, and sometimes most cringing, manner possible ; we began our Indian army, now as immortal as that which the first Napoleon led to victory, with a few gunners' crews and factory-guards, which, in the course of not quite two centuries, had swollen to that gigantic and well-disciplined host known as the Company's army. There was no stopping us either, till we got a sixth of the human race under our feet. But why could not Dupleix, Labourdonnais, Lally, and Bussy have done better work for you when Empire seemed to dawn upon France in India?"

"I'll tell you why, my dear friend," said the Frenchman. "What France wants, to establish a sure colonial progress, especially in the East, is the art of genuine conciliation, which you English possess in a remarkable degree. It does not always answer in these sunny climes to be too brave, or daring a military commander of the forces, or to leave too much to the glory-seeking or fire-eating admiral,——"

"Who, like a famous one I knew in days gone by, may be all thunder and lightning, with the Yankee addition of a dash of the earthquake in him !" added the Englishman. "But what do you think of a portion of the French Press on this new colonial enterprise, as regards England, or of the way in which they have

been writing about us in the matter of a second Suez Canal?" he asked with some earnestness.

"I have no sympathy with such remarks as those which have just appeared in the *Patrie*; they are quite distasteful to reflective Frenchmen, and calculated to do injury among the ignorant with regard to the two countries," said the Frenchman indignantly.

"Yes," rejoined the Englishman, "the *Patrie* was rather hard when it said, 'that for twelve centuries England has not ceased to *opprimer, rançonner, et embêter la France*.' And then about the insults offered to France; these are all a complete delusion. Because one nation has been successful in many ways, and another has not, it does not follow that the successful Power means insult to her rival. The *Patrie* is decidedly in error when it thinks that enlightened England hates France. On the contrary, she often loves and admires her; more especially when she does all things decently and in order."

"That is very good, my dear friend," said the Frenchman. "But, have you seen," he continued, "the liberal remarks on your Government in the *République Française*, congratulating the Premier—*cet noble et grand veillard*—on his prudence and wisdom in regard to the Suez Canal question? This is another proof that you have no high-handed bullying statesmen at the present time to govern you, who are capable of insulting a great nation."

"Yes, I saw that," replied the Englishman. "And

what a contrast does such language present with the bitter ravings of the Jewish writer in the *Evénement*, who, after a most unjust attack on our Premier, concludes with what is called one of his old prophecies, 'that France will be at war with England before she is at war with Germany! '\* Can anything be more ridiculous than this? "

"About Germany, I will say nothing," replied the Frenchman; "that, my dear friend, is an endless—a sore subject with us; but, long may England and France remain good friends, and assist each other in our great mission of progress in various parts of the globe! After all, in the world's history, squaring up, or even fighting, has done something for civilisation! France is becoming warlike!"

"Bravo!" cried the Englishman; and when his friend had lit another cigar, they both moved off, arm in arm, for refreshment to an adjacent restaurant, determined to celebrate their meeting in Leicester-square by a good dinner in the evening.

On leaving the garden, the two friends cast a look on the statue of Shakspeare, which brought forth a word of conversation on statues, sculpture, and the drama. The Frenchman duly appreciated our greatest dramatic poet.

\* Some time after the above remark, the *Opinione* at Rome,—"a staunch advocate of the Italo-German alliance"—expressed itself "disgusted with the recent attacks of the 'North German Gazette' on England in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Copenhagen." Thus does a rabid political socialism suppress personal rights, as well as "the proprietary rights of nations."

"You are a strange nation," he said, in his own quaint way. "You have gone into a 'melting mood' about your famous Iron Duke; and you are now preparing, I hear, to parody or burlesque Shakspeare, your greatest genius, to suit a wretched taste of the age."

"It is wretched," said the Englishman, shaking his head, "when we come to such a degradation of the human intellect as this! I only trust that a parody on a far more sacred book may not follow. Would you Frenchmen treat Racine or Corneille thus?" \*

"Assuredly not," said the Frenchman.

"We have too much burlesque at the present day," declared the Englishman. "A little of it is all very well; but the excess is a national abomination."

On passing the wreck of the Alhambra, they looked up at it with a sigh, the Frenchman again remarking in his quaint way, "You had a famous London wit—Douglas Jerrold, I think—who said, that if your great city were laid in ruins to-morrow by an earthquake, or some other cause, you would celebrate the event by a dinner. It is not so with us, however, after our pleasant meeting this afternoon. There is this difference: that here, only part of your huge metropolis is burned down. It is merely a case of 'Ho! for a Phoenix;' London still remains harmoniously intact; and long may she do so in every sense—as all true

\* It was afterwards pleasing to read that no "dishonour" was done to Shakspeare.

Frenchmen wish Paris; and may amicable relations—no matter which of us may *square up* first against an outsider—ever exist between England and France!"

"*Vive la France!*" shouted the Englishman.

"*Vive l'Angleterre!*" cried the Frenchman.

## PART II.

It is late on a rather dull autumn afternoon, in the year of grace 1903, that an Englishman and a Frenchman meet in Leicester-square. They are the same two friends who met here twenty years before; but now their locks are silvery, and they stoop a little; yet they have both evidently set in for what Dryden styles "a green old age," being still hale and hearty men. They have been admiring certain improvements in the garden of Leicester-square, where they had so earnestly conversed twenty years ago; and the elegant Alhambra theatre, about that time rebuilt, had also attracted their attention. They are on their way to an English and French Institute—not long established—in the Square, for the purpose of hearing instructive lectures on the colonial progress of England and France throughout the world; and here we may leave them for a short while.

Mighty changes have taken place within the last twenty years. Some monarchical institutions in Europe have become rather shaky, and one has vanished altogether; but England still remains—as we trust she ever may—the same; and France still boasts, in spite of Imperialist and Monarchist agitators (for it has been discovered that the “salvation of France” lies not with a Monarchy), of her only possible Government—as shrewd, wise old Thiers said—a Republic!

Monarchical combinations directed against French policy, on account of an imaginary unfriendliness, had proved utterly fruitless. A re-arrangement of the map of Europe has been considered highly necessary; and so has one of Asia—particularly the far Eastern portion; and, strange enough, British statesmen and the English people are now beginning to pay more and more attention to the study of geography. Africa has been further explored, thus benefiting England as well as France; and the two great nations wave their flags of good government and order over gigantic Madagascar. French factories on the Congo also are flourishing. Australia—particularly Queensland—after a desperate attempt to become independent in the matter of annexation, has long settled down quietly without New Guinea added to her burdens, having been ruminating for many years on the question expounded in Lord Derby's colonial policy, “whether annexation by any Power would not be a violation of international law?” Germany still

holds up her lofty head in Europe; France and Spain—the insult to the chivalrous young King Alfonso long forgotten\*—are tolerably good friends; France is no longer jealous of classic and regenerated and *naval* Italy, and has left off accusing her of “restless ambition,” having so much to answer for (as we have also) in that way herself! Turning again to the far East, our own *Burma* (not *Burmah*), the most flourishing portion of Chin-India, or Indo-China, has become a “household word.” It is not now (in 1903) as formerly, when, to repeat a fairly well-known anecdote, a great statesman like Lord Palmerston would say to his Private Secretary, after hearing a long discussion on certain places of the globe from that terrible plague of a popular minister’s life, a long-winded deputation, “Now, hand me down the atlas, and let us see where the deuce all these places are!” Burke wisely thought geography, though “an earthly subject, a heavenly study.”

A million or two of the enlightened public, and not a few of the working classes, now know the exact position of Burma in the world; and the whole of that splendid region for the merchant and the missionary is, since Lord Dalhousie’s “force of circumstances” has impelled us on at last, under British rule. King Theebau, fortunately, does not reign; so misrule in the land of golden feet, golden noses, and golden

\* In some measure owing to the great Bismarck’s advice to the King, to be “forgiving.”

ears, has fled for ever.\* The face of Pya (Gautama) wears a more contented smile than formerly; and joyous nats (good spirits, or glendoveers) are more free and easy in their movements throughout the stately forests than before. It is worth while to look out such a country on the map; and now, in its splendid capital, where British commerce and enterprise reside, in one of the noble squares which adorn the Liverpool or Glasgow of India beyond the Ganges, or of Chin-India, rises towards the blue sky, to strike the charmed and arrested traveller, a statue of Sir Arthur Phayre, without any other inscription than "*Circumspice!*" in reference to the prospect around, tacitly saying, "*He was the origin of it all!*"

Through trade being now fairly opened, by the aid of a railway, with Annam, Tonquin, and Yunnan, to both French and English in particular, and to other nations in general, with the wealth and increased trade of Upper Burma, the revenue under the Chief Commissioner has risen to eight or ten millions sterling (2,000,000 in 1881-82); in proportion to the population, even at two millions, more than that of any other province under the Government of India. Our position as a paramount Power in India is not at all affected by the course of events; the principle of life, in the

\* Theebau's last act being—not content with his royal monopoly of precious stones, timber, the precious metals, and eventually of salt—to attempt a monopoly of the water of the noble Irawadi, to the utter dismay of trade, free, fair, or foul.



chief glory of the British Empire,\* is still strong within her; she stands, as she will ever stand—and with Egypt to accompany her—secure amidst the attacks of tongue or sword! The Criminal Procedure of the country has long been arranged to the satisfaction of Europeans and Natives, and all is going on as evenly as possible.† Another Campbell, Cockburn, or Coleridge might arise from the Hindu and Mussulman judges, but there is no chance of a Jeffries or Scroggs. Abdul Rahman's successor is doing well; and the old subsidy, to protect Afghanistan, has been generously increased. Herat has gone back to the Persians; and the Russians, for some years, have had the suzerainty over Merv. They are beginning, it is believed, to be liked by the people. It almost seems as if Campbell's prophetic lines are near of accomplishment, when he writes on the Power of Russia:—

Whom Persia bows to, China ill confines,  
And India's homage waits when Albion's star declines!

But another Empire has already commenced, not in Central, but in Eastern Asia. Siam is our staunch friend, as the King with many names has been for

\* The revenue is now £70,000,000 and the expenditure £65,000,000 only, against £67,800,000 and £66,800,000 in 1883-84.

† To the writer's mind, about the best opinion—European or Native—on the famous Ilbert Bill, is that given by a native magistrate, the Honourable Mr. Justice T. Muttasami Aiyar, of Madras. His minute concludes thus, affording conciliation enough to please our friend the Frenchman. After insisting that the law of progress demands the measure, he says of us, "Their descent from the same stock in the far antiquity may become the watch-word for mutual esteem, cordiality, love, and brotherhood."

a number of years. Corea, through cultivating relations with England and America, is a flourishing kingdom, and China, the colossal Empire of the Eastern world, although rapidly improving and striving to compete with more rapid Japan, still, in some notable particulars, "unchangeable in the midst of change," calmly surveys, as a political necessity accomplished, the rise and progress of a French Empire in the East.

There is a sort of Cobden Club in Canton ; and Free Trade flourishes at all the Chinese ports. The so-called King of Heaven finds France more useful, in her protectorate to the commercial interests of China, than Tu Duc of Annam, or any previous Cochin-Chinese sovereign. And, instead of the Song-Koi, or Red River, and the Gulf of Tonquin, to the northward, being infested by pirates, peaceful craft, "laden with golden grain," ply noiselessly through the glad and untroubled waters. So much for what had been well styled, twenty years before, "the policy of adventure." So far well has the political game of Gambettism, or a race for new colonies and empire, been played without the fearless, the energetic, the far-seeing Gambetta.

Saigon, Hué, Hanoi (now adorned by a statue of the gallant Rivière) are all beautiful towns ; especially the former, on which the French have lavished much of the same sort of admirable taste (especially in the matter of laying out and putting ornamental trees

in the right place) as bestowed on their famed Pondicherry—the Paris of the East in Southern India. Many of the great guns of French and English editorship, whose journals did so much to enlighten the public as to the foundation of a new French Empire in the East, from the days of Garnier and Dupuis, down to the skilful and energetic actors of later times, have passed away, like the “leaves of woody Morven;” but, as will ever be the case in the great realms of journalism, other green leaves lift their proud heads on high.

The record had long gone forth that France owed the foundation of her new Empire in the extreme East to a steady determination, to a surprising and unusual decision of character in the face of much opposition; but, above all, as with us in India, to a proper *modé* of conciliating the conquered. Everything is going on so well, that 1903 is a sort of *annus mirabilis* in the chronicles of France and England. This good fortune had been alluded to by the lecturer, and the two friends comment on it as they leave the Institute. At supper, in the Englishman's hospitable mansion in Piccadilly, to which by earnest invitation the Frenchman had come over from his retired and picturesque château, near Paris, to spend a week or two in London, the conversation turns on the rise and fall of the French power in India, to which the aforesaid lecturer had also alluded the same evening, laying particular stress on “Sieur” Dupleix's threat to dethrone the

Great Mogul, and reduce Calcutta and Madras to their original state of fishing towns.\*

"I never could understand, my good friend," said the Englishman, "why, early in and towards the middle of the last century (1815 to 1845), when you found the French possessions in India of little or no commercial benefit to France, you did not seek to dispose of them to us at a fair valuation; the munificent old East India Company would, doubtless, have given you a good price for them."

The Frenchman here fell into one of his historical reveries, thinking over some lines by a would-be Anglo-Indian poet on the subject, in which occurs the following couplet—

Famed Pondicherry still with pride surveys  
The dark blue sea, but thinks o'er better days,—

which, to the extreme gratification of its author, he had said reminded him of Dante's well-known beautiful but sad retrospect—*Nessun maggior dolore*, &c.

"Listen, my dear friend," at length he replied, "I have studied the subject, and know it well. When I was in my younger days at Pondicherry (*Pont déchiré*),

\* A bust of Dupleix, the most wonderful French statesman who ever came to the East, used to adorn (and probably does still) the end of the grand salon in Government House, Pondicherry. "Look there, Sir," said the sailor governor to the present writer in 1815; "there is the man who first gave Clive the idea of conquering and keeping India by its own inhabitants—the real author of your native army, which has now swollen to such an enormous and, perhaps, dangerous extent. I am well aware," he added, "that this fact is not well known by you English."

my father, who was a judge there, used to answer such a question as you have asked in this way, which even now will be new to most Englishmen and Frenchmen. 'The very small apparent importance of the French establishments in India has frequently given rise to the opinion that the metropolitan government would willingly give them up, as the Danes did their settlement of Tranquebar on the Malabar coast, and Serampore on the banks of the Hoogly. I believe the impression to be an erroneous one, as without Pondicherry we should not have the means of carrying on the very important exchange of India blue-cloth with the gum produced by the forests of the interior of Africa—the only really prosperous trade France can boast of at present, the monopoly of which we now possess, but which would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the English, if we could no longer offer the only article of exchange the Arabs will accept.\*' This held good many years ago; I'm not so sure about it at the present time; but the rise of our colonial power during the last twenty years or more—in a great measure by following the British example of conciliation—I fancy, will make us hold the French possessions in India faster than ever. When success comes, nations, like individuals, are loth to give anything away; and we do not now require to sell."

"Thank you, my good friend, for such a satisfactory reply," said the Englishman. "You allude to the rise

\* See also Addenda—Notes on the French in India.

of your colonial power; it has been truly wonderful. Who would have thought that you would have mastered the art of conciliation abroad, beginning so well in Cochin-China and Tonquin, silencing the immutable and too often impracticable Chinese, making your own treaties, driving the King of Cambodia into a state of admiration and subservience, and bringing all Annamese grumblers, the Black Flags, and wild tribes to the northward, under your rule. Who would have thought that such a difficult nation as the Chinese would at length have seen your value, and aided you while overcoming immense obstacles in your work at last; of course self-interest (there being no disinterested zeal in any nation now-a-days) having had much to do with the celestial actions? Who would have thought that, instead of a French protectorate over Upper Burma—to which affairs seemed to be drifting at one time—England and France would now be paramount in Chin-India, and friendly traders in Yunnan and Sze-chuen? I am sure you felt, at the lecture this evening, how Englishmen thought well of French action in Eastern Asia twenty years ago, and since, and applauded her splendid talents in taking a leaf out of England's book, and founding an empire, by learning a lesson from your neighbour, John Bull, in the noble art of CONCILIATION, tempered by unceasing work, tact, energy, and patience abroad!"

"Yes, nothing can be done in the way of gaining colonies, or forming an empire, without these attributes.

I only wish that once master-spirit of our country, Gambetta, were now alive to see how France has benefited by adopting them," said the Frenchman.

"Or, after all," added the Englishman, "a spirited colonial policy (to which your very able Jules Ferry, twenty years since, first introduced France), tempered by conciliation, is the only one which can ever, as the Tunisian and Tonquin expeditions did, bring money to the French exchequer, or succeed in the end!"

"It is pleasing to compare the confused and, in some cases, rancorous political relations between France and the other countries of Europe twenty years ago with the excellent and friendly ones, especially with England, of the present time," said the Frenchman.

"I trust they may long continue so," said his friend; "for what, after all, is the use of nations quarrelling with each other? I have long considered that the famous American poet, Longfellow, puts this very neatly when he discourses on the implements of war in the Arsenal at Springfield,—war, apparently the inevitable necessity of this mundane existence, the horrors of which are only to be palliated by always being prepared for it:—

Is it, O man, with such discordant noises  
With such accursed instruments as these,  
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,  
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

After a few days, the two friends are (for the last

time) in famous old Leicester-square. The busts of Hogarth and Sir Joshua Reynolds still adorn the garden; and while, seated near the same spot where they had conversed twenty years before, the two old men bring to memory and talk over some striking events of France's colonial progress and policy, then styled so terribly aggressive, apparitions of the admirable but implacable M. John L——, and the aggrieved Mr. S—— appear before them. The English missionary is following the great French journalist with the pertinacity of another Hamlet following his father's spirit on earth! Shakspeare (whose statue is still in the old place) seems to have his universal eye upon them; and Hogarth looks out also, as if to say, that had the scene of controversy taken place in his time, what a capital sketch it would have made, with the addition of the head of the brave but angry French Admiral P——, with eyes peering at the two restless spirits; while Reynolds also, in his "bland and gracious" way, seems to wish them all to come to his studio and sit for their portraits!

"Yes, the 'neutral zone' proposition was, indeed, as remarked by a wit at the time, 'collaring wholly,' and you collared Tonquin even more systematically than you had done Tunis, or attempted to do Madagascar," said the Englishman.

"I did not think all would have turned out so well, my dear friend, when we met here twenty years ago,"





1815 to 1837. That of France begins at a much later period.

After the general peace, the enterprising spirit of the British people "necessarily took a new direction." Old and new colonies became the rage, and a state of things was produced which had various effects upon the coloured tribes. It tended to the increase of missionary efforts in their favour. It also contributed greatly to prepare the way for "a general colonial reform." "But," says an interesting writer on *British Colonisation*, "it is, perhaps, of still more immediate importance, that the peaceful commercial character of this era has a direct influence upon the interests of coloured people, and that such influence is more capable of useful extension than any other." Again, "Trading with the less civilised tribes takes every day a wider range; and its natural influence being still greatly perverted by many errors, it will be a useful task to show what improvements can be made in all the different kinds of trading carried on with these tribes" [at present the frontier tribes of China, Siam, and Upper Burma, for instance], "so as to correct these errors." Of course, all such hopes of improvement can only be founded on annexation without aggression. An irritating aggressive policy, as intelligent Europeans know well, is liable to defeat its own ends; and, if begun, is generally abandoned in good time.

France, in 1883, has been thought by not a few

judges to be proceeding on such a dangerous line of policy; and a military correspondent of an English journal,\* talking of France inflicting a wound on the sensitiveness of her nearest neighbours, says: "Italy was passionately offended at the annexation of Tunis; and now, as before the Seven Years' War, France is pushing colonial aggression to its utmost permissible limits." France is probably not nearly so much to blame as is generally supposed. 'In the race for Empire among nations, things are often done, and have been done by us, the master colonists of the world, "to make the angels weep." But good eventually has come out of it all. Colonisation, on sound, or even fairly sound principles, is a grand thing.

With the aid of discreet missionaries, popular education, and kindness to the tribes or people brought under control, the most noble of human work may be accomplished; and, without the aid of noisy Salvationists, and the un-Scriptural† doctrine of teetotalism, its authors will be of that devoted army who will surely "have their reward."

In the little work just referred to,‡ is a remarkable extract, which appears highly applicable to the present age of colonisation and emigration and enterprise.

\* "Standard," 15th October 1883.

† So designated by a worthy Bishop of the English church. If, as Lord Byron says, "Our life is a false nature," it seems truly natural to possess what has been quaintly styled "a Timothy stomach!"

‡ "British Colonisation of the Coloured Tribes." London, 1838.

It is from "The Four Elements" (A.D. 1517), by Sergeant Estell, or Sir Thomas More:—

But yet not long ago some men of this country went,  
 By the king's noble consent, that new land for to search.  
 O! what a great meritorious deed it were to have its people  
     there  
 Instructed to live more virtuously, and know of men the man-  
     ners,  
 And also to know God their maker, which as yet live all beastly.

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## ON THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF FRENCH SUCCESS IN TONQUIN ON BRITISH INTERESTS IN BURMA.

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At page 270 of my little work on Burma, "Ashé Pyee," the eastern, superior, or foremost country, is cited a French view, from an article in the Paris "Nouvelle Revue," by M. Voisson, on Burma and Tonquin. The note concludes with the remark (January 1880)—M. Voisson is of opinion that, "as in the interest of commerce and humanity England is endeavouring to establish her supremacy in Burma, France should also definitively consolidate hers in Tonquin." It does not seem to be generally believed, or even known, that France, for twenty years past, has been carefully watching our doings in Burma, politically as well as in the matter of commercial enterprise. Again, the fact is known to few that the French treaties with the Empire of Annam (Cochin-China) of 1862 and 1874, appear as if simultaneous

with two important events in Anglo-Burmese history. In the former year the Government of India, in prospect of a treaty with the King of Burma, directed the first Chief Commissioner, Sir Arthur Phayre, to include therein, if possible, the re-opening of the caravan route from Western China *via* Bhamo, "and the concession of facilities to British merchants to reside at that place, or to travel to Yunnan, and for Chinese from Yunnan to have free access to British territory, including Assam."

A treaty was concluded in 1862; the British and Burmese Governments were declared friends, and trade in and through Upper Burma was thrown open to British enterprise. It was further stipulated, under certain conditions, that a direct trade with China might be carried on through Upper Burma; but, on account of a proposal, that the King's sanction to a joint Burmese and British mission to China should be obtained, not proving successful, the prospects of our trade with South-west China remained in abeyance. Still, with this important treaty commenced the grand idea in British mercantile circles of a route through Burma to Western China; and, some five years later, it was under the treaty of 1862 that Sir Arthur Phayre's successor, General Fytche, determined to lay before the Government of India the importance of practically testing "the possibility and probable results of re-opening the Bhamo trade route." And in this manner the first mission was carried out. The pro-

posed expedition was sanctioned by the Government of India in September 1867. The result was great as an active enterprise, but it did nothing for British trade with South-western China. Of course France was not sorry at our failure.

In 1874 Lord Salisbury (Secretary of State for India) decided on sending a second expedition "to penetrate China from Burma, and pass through, if practicable, to Shanghai." But, in 1875, this second enterprise ended not only in failure, but in disaster, Mr. Margary (an ornament of our Chinese consular service), who had left Shanghai to join the mission, having been treacherously and brutally murdered at Manwyne.

That French success in Cochin-China, and, doubtless, in tempting and much-coveted Yunnan, south-west China, bordering on the north of Tonquin, has been strongly kept in view and ardently hoped for during the last twenty years at least, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. And, strange enough, so far back as September 1864, I was writing in Rangoon some notes on this very subject, which, in 1883, promised to become of vast interest—chiefly from the many points or bearings which it affords regarding our power and trade in Eastern Asia—to far-seeing statesmen as well as to the merchants of Great Britain. In 1864 I wrote:—The French Adventurer, Girodon (or Orgoni), alluded to in my "Narrative of the Second Burmese War," and who after the capture of Rangoon, was known as the man

any French success in Tonquin would go to injure British interests in Burma, and the hope of them in South-west China. To the foregoing remarks, in 1864, I added, in the same year, a note which also strikes me as being of some interest in 1883:—England does not wish all the world. She will ever be content with a part of it. In 1864 another Napoleon and Alexander have met in conference, perhaps with an object similar to that of the Emperors of days gone by, when Great Britain stood secure amid the wreck of the world. Some division of yet unconquered parts of Asia may now be in contemplation. But what allusion has now been made to the French in Cochin-China, we trust will not cause that gallant and now enterprising nation to think that we feel otherwise than quite satisfied that there is nothing at present doing in that quarter of the world which can possibly cause us any uneasiness; and our august Imperial ally, the brave and far-seeing Emperor Napoleon, is probably as well read in Indian as he is in European political and military history. From what we read and hear, Cochin-China, in a commercial point of view, is a remarkable country. It occupies the south-eastern corner of Asia, has abundance of water from many rivers; and it is said to be one of the most fertile countries in this quarter of the world. The country, like Burma, only waits the development of its resources, as it abounds with valuable productions, such as rice, sugar, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and ivory, to say nothing of the far-



famed minerals of Tonquin, sufficient to cause the "quick pulse of gain" to beat faster than ever among the frequenters of the *Paris Change*. The forests are well supplied with teak, ebony, cedar, and many other woods. They also yield stick-lac and gamboge, the latter article deriving its English name from a corruption of that of its native district, Cambodia, one of the divisions or provinces of Cochin-China. The inhabitants amount to three or four millions (some say five or six millions), and consist of Annameses and Quantos, the latter being the original natives; while the former are of Chinese origin. The religion of the country, what we might expect in such a region, is a branch of the Buddhist system, though some of the mountain tribes are said still to follow the ancient idolatry, and to "worship the tiger and the dog." The Romish religion, we read, was introduced by the Portuguese early in the 17th century and subsequently carried on by French missionaries. Matters have very seriously changed in France, as in Burma, since 1864; and now we may safely consider any great success of the French in Tonquin, or other portions of Annam (or Cochin-China), as highly detrimental to British interests in China and Burma, and almost fatal to the long wished for, and hitherto probable, success of the British merchant in Yunnan or Sze-Chuen, in South-west China. It is all very well for clever French editors to write about France and England, and the colonial policy of France, that even if they

meet us at all points of the globe it will not be to make war but to "compete" with us "pacificallly in the interests of progress and civilisation." Now, let us just imagine for a moment the present Golden Foot, or King of Burma, the monarch "linked" with few virtues and "a thousand crimes," who, to say the best of him, like Swift's definition of opinion, is "light of foot and headstrong, yet giddy and perpetually turning." elated by what he considered to be the success of his mission to Paris (after his decided failure at Simla), and any French advances towards him consequent on French success in Tonquin, or elsewhere in Chin-India; imagine King Theeban, whom we have rightly or wrongly deprived of Pegu and all his ports, aiding the French—which he would doubtless offer to do, if only to keep the surrounding rebellious Shans in order, and pay us off the grudge he owes for the results of our two Burmese wars—and competing with us "pacificallly" in the all-powerful question of trade in Upper or Independent Burma, in the productive Shan States, on the borders of Assam, in South-west China, and in Siam—to say nothing of what China would think of her vassal going so ahead with France! Let us just think for a moment what a paralytic stroke our great flourishing possession in Chin-India (British Burma) would receive so far as trade is concerned! Such an alliance would be death to trade as it would be death to peace in *Ashé Pyee*, which would no longer be the

foremost country. With China naturally irritated against France, British interests in Burma would be sure to suffer, especially as it is so well known that foreigners, like the French and Italians, have long been the favoured ones at the court of Mandalay. That the French strongly anticipate success with the Tonquin expedition, and are resolved to carry out the treaty of 1874—a treaty at first with merely commercial validity, but which now seems to be of a very general character—appears from such remarks as these put forward by a London correspondent at Marseilles on the 11th June:—"Business people here, feeling sure of the success of the expedition, are preparing to extend their relations with Tonquin." In the event of great success, such an extension of relations would, doubtless, be aimed at the whole of Indo-China. The want of an able and firm Resident at Mandalay is most assuredly to be deplored at the present time. To "Watchman, what of the 'night?" we can get no satisfactory reply, while clouds are gathering in Chin-India; and even putting the French aside, in Upper Burma, the present crisis, it is to be feared, will sadly disjoint our schemes for railways and roads, from Burma to South-west China, from Assam to the country of the Singphos, with the great traveller Mr. Colquhoun's proposal for a railway between Burma and Siam. But, of course, in every way, we must be prepared to look more than ever to preserving if not to increasing our British interests in Burma.

As I have said elsewhere, the nations of Europe are now paying no ordinary attention to the value of colonial power. It is a great pity that we have not, long ere this, bought up (or at least made a strong endeavour to do so) the few remaining European settlements in India belonging to other Powers. I have long considered this to be a great omission on our part. In a letter to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, which I published twelve years ago, there is something about the French possessions in India, and "reasons for an endeavour to purchase them." The letter concludes: "We must avoid even the shadow of the possibility of revolution and disorder through the agency of any European Power in Hindustan. And no European Power should have any influence there save our own." Of course, Tonquin and other parts of Annam, unlike Pondicherry and Portuguese Goa, can never make us uneasy as regards our India proper; but now, possessing the flourishing provinces of British Burma in Chin-India, or India beyond the Ganges, bringing us so much nearer to the brave, enterprising, and now greatly-improved Celestials, even French success in Tonquin might have a very serious effect on British interests in Ashé Pyee and in China.

That France should acknowledge the right of China's suzerainty over Annam (which has been held for two hundred years), would appear to be fair enough, especially if France does not intend to annex the new empire, or even the northern (Tonquin) and southern

portions of it. We annexed Lower or British Burma, as a matter of course, without considering the Celestial vassalage (rather an unruly one) of the Golden Foot at Ava, who had insulted us; so we left him only a portion of Burma (Northern), over which China could then claim any suzerainty.

Summing up, one by one, the probable effects of French success in Annam (Anam), or Cochin-China, on British and Upper Burma, the principal would appear to be :—

1. To make King Theebau more arrogant, and more reluctant than ever to forego all his monopolies; the King supposing he might gain advantages by renewing or adding to them, from granting exclusive privileges to the French for trade, especially on his frontier, and that of Yunnan, which borders on Tonquin, the northern province of Annam. French energy and love of exploration, with skill in many arts, are not unknown at Mandalay.
2. To cause the Golden Foot (King of Burma) entirely to ignore the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), particularly Article VII., regarding the mutual “safe-guard” or “escort,” and the “commercial treaty.” A death-blow would also probably be given to the liberty of Free Trade; or at least to our ardent hopes for it in Eastern Asia.
3. Unless we could bring some strong pressure to

bear for the better on misrule in Upper Burma, France might take the matter in hand, and assume the duties of Protector, as she intended to do before the outbreak of the second war; and it probably would be far more easy with Upper Burma than with Siam.

4. This would produce endless difficulties with China, ourselves, and Siam, and the millions of brave Shans—all to the detriment of our power and *prestige*, and trade, in British or Lower Burma.
5. Under such circumstances, with such a ruler as King Theebau, we could never have peace in Chin-India.
6. And the whole state of affairs would surely bring about, instead of unexampled prosperity in British Burma as heretofore, great financial loss and embarrassment to the Government of India. Even if there should be no rupture between France and China—yet it is difficult to see how China can avoid, in the event of an extreme crisis, helping her vassal (Annam)—the subjugation by the French of the whole of Cochin-China, or its annexation, might produce the above deplorable results.

Since concluding the foregoing “Notes” there has been a strong conflict of opinion as to the chances of peace or war between France and China. It is believed that no agreement has yet been come to on the points at issue; and the Chinese Envoy (the astute Marquis

Tseng) in London, decisively stated that "Chinese troops are being massed at various points in the three provinces conterminous with Tonquin; namely, Yunnan, Quangsi, and Qwang-tung."

Again, the Annamite troops are now ready for war; and the French will probably commence their attack on Annam, and bombardment of Hué (the capital), soon after the arrival of the last reinforcements from France.

The following prophetic remarks will be interesting to those who, like the present writer, have ventured to expatiate on the strong French desire of founding an Empire in the East:—"The general feeling in Cochin-China is said to be that France will found a large Eastern Empire, like British India, consisting of Tonquin, Annam, Cochin-China, and Camboja!"\* Is there not reason, therefore, to look more and more to British interests in Burma, Chin-India, and China?†

Towards the end of June 1883, an organ of the French Government stated that the King of Burma, dissatisfied with the work accomplished by his Envoys at Simla last year, had resolved "to assert his right of sovereignty by sending an Embassy to France, which is likely to become his neighbour in Tonquin, and can alone offer him an outlet beyond English contact. The Embassy will seek to conclude a treaty recognising

\* Marseilles correspondent of "Daily News," 25th June 1883.

† The foregoing "Notes" were written in June 1883, and appeared in the "Broad Arrow," on the 14th of July.

the independence of Burma (Upper), as Italy has already done, and giving it free communication with the outer world."

On the 13th of August, the Burmese Mission was received in Paris by M. ChallemeL-Lacour, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Embassy, which had already visited Italy, was composed of eight members. The object of the Mission was said to be the conclusion of commercial treaties, "not only with France, but also with England, and other European nations." Appointing Consuls for the protection of their subjects, would, in the opinion of the Embassy, afford a wide field for "their commercial and industrial enterprise." A letter from the King of Burma was placed in the hands of the Foreign Minister, on the subject of introducing French enterprise into the Burman Empire, and of the King's desire to conclude a treaty of commerce with France. M. ChallemeL-Lacour, it was said, very wisely hinted to the Burmese Ambassadors, "that the situation of Burma with regard to England, who is mistress of the ports and the mouth of the Irrawadi, left Burmese commerce scarcely free." But, strange enough! the Ambassadors thought it "perfectly free!"

\* See Paris correspondent of "Standard," August 11th and 13th, 1883.



## ADDEND'A.

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### I.

#### COURT ETIQUETTE IN BURMA.

THE despotism of Court etiquette in China, followed by Burma and other parts of Chin-India, has long been remarkable, and has tended, in no small degree, to keep back the tide of Western civilisation in lands so highly-favoured by nature. In Burma, this may proceed from the fact that there is really no landed nobility in the country: all rank is official, emanating long before and since the days of the First Burmese War—1824-25-26—from, and continued and suspended at the will or caprice of, the Sovereign. Such remarks are quite in accordance with what has been written elsewhere on the subject; and the reproduction

of the following brief sketch\* may be of public interest at the present time.

In a capital little essay on "Oriental Etiquette," it is observed, that the custom of removing boots in Burma is "an ingenious device to exalt the Monarch of the Golden Foot, and degrade his subjects, and strangers too, before him. It is carried further at Mandalay than at any other Asiatic Court." Again: "Our diplomatic difficulties with the Burmese Court have been considerably intensified, at different times, owing to the insistance of the Lord Chamberlain at Ava or Mandalay that our envoy should take his boots off, and the reluctance of our proud and diffident representatives to appear in public in their stockings. The British, however, are not by any means the only people whose feelings have been hurt by this unpleasant discourtesy; and Asiatic, as well as European, ambassadors have been, in the most ancient times, subjected to the inconvenience. The first Chinese invasion of Burma (1284 A.D.) was brought about entirely by the 'shoe difficulty.' The Chinese envoys to the Monarch Nara-thee-ha-hadé had insisted, in spite of remonstrances, on appearing in the Royal presence with their boots on. They ought to have known better; for at Peking such conduct would have been

\* From "Ashé Pyee," chap. viii. p. 131. At the beginning of this chapter will also be found strictly authentic remarks on the "Shoe Question," to make which easy for future British Residents at Mandalay the present Earl of Northbrook, whilst Viceroy of India, did all in his power.

considered the height of bad manners; and, as far as they were concerned, their infraction of Burmese etiquette had a very unpleasant ending. They were not allowed twice to insult the 'Lord of all the White Elephants,' but were waylaid, in a quiet part of Amarapura, and had their throats cut; a summary mode of proceeding which brought an army upon Burma from the Flowery Land." It was recently announced that King Theebau and his council had settled the shoe difficulty in "an amusing way." By means of long ranges of planking, like boxes, the King will not see anybody's feet. The Golden Foot himself will appear on a grand dais. Ambassadors or foreigners will be seated on chairs; but they must not stir till His Majesty is gone. Whether true or not, the idea is certainly no very bad one. As to shikhoing, it is also written: "The Burmese officials all 'shikhoe' to Royalty, that is, make an obeisance by raising the two hands to the forehead and bowing the head to the ground. On Colonel Phayre, our envoy to Mandalay, objecting to do this, the Woondouk said: 'When at Calcutta at the Government House you told me to bow to the Governor-General, which you said was *your* custom. I am only telling you what *ours* is!' Formerly, our envoys to Burma were 'obliged to double their legs behind them, it being contrary to the existing etiquette to turn the foot, covered or uncovered, towards the King.'"

Thus is the world, notably East and West, in some

measure subjected to the tyranny of etiquette. Of course the science is necessary to keep good society together; but excess therein is simply making fools of ourselves by rule. Perhaps Shakspeare had some such view in his mind when he wrote of "new customs," which may also be applied to old:—

Though they be never so ridiculous,  
Nay, let them be unmanly,  
Still are followed.

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### NOTE.

WITH reference to the "Shoe Question," or rather, as concerning Europeans, the Boot Question, the extreme inconvenience felt by removal is at once apparent. Captain Lumsden, Bengal H.A., could not manage to get off his jack-boots in time to meet the Golden Foot, for the presentation of the British Embassy at Ava, in 1826; and so, for the hour, was in what may really be styled "a regular fix!" The present writer also, when attending the installation of H.H. the Nizam, in Hyderabad, during that awful year, 1857, nearly lost his wits (if he ever had any) by nearly losing his boots in a crowded Court; and numerous other instances of such alarming perplexity might be cited.

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## II.

## BELLS.

THERE is something truly remarkable about the universality of bells. In modern times, from Schiller to the one learned English authority on the subject (Rev. H. R. Haweis), throughout Europe and America, it is strange to think how many millions have been affected by their solemn or discordant peals, and by their merry or soothing chimes. In Eastern lands, it is often easy to imagine the devotees of Buddha, while standing around their bell, with offerings of fruit and flowers in their hands, exclaiming—with a sort of ritualistic ardour :—

Tun'd be its metal mouth alone  
To things eternal and sublime !

And, although the “tongue” is far less common in the East than with us, the following lines may seem not inapplicable at present to the people of Annam or Cochin-China, where the French are endeavouring to found an Empire :—

Its tongue to Fate it well may lend  
Heartless itself, and feeling nought,  
May with its warning notes attend  
On human life, with change so fraught.\*

\* Schiller's “Song of the Bell.”

and beneath which honour are the peacock and the goose—emblematic, it might be said, of the pride and the folly of Upper Burma—there is also some interesting matter regarding Burmese bells.

Very early in the seventeenth century, as in late years, some of the Shân States at intervals gave the “Supreme King,” in Ava trouble, “and an expedition against Kyaing Hung or Yun was made, the chief of which State had withheld payment of tribute. The King sincerely desired to do justice to all. A handsome bell was cast, and hung at the Palace gate, on which was an inscription in the Burmese and Talaing (Peguese) languages, exhorting complainants to strike the bell, and the King would hear their cry” (p. 133). The “curious subsequent history of this bell” is thus related :—“This bell, it appears, was carried to Arakan, when a raid was made by the King of that country into Pegu, some years after the death of Mahā Dhammā Rājā. In the war of 1825-26, between Burma and British India, it was found in the precincts of a temple near the old capital, and was carried to India as a trophy by a Hindu officer of Irregular Cavalry. It now hangs in a Hindu temple in Zillah Allegarh” (p. 142). After an interesting chapter on “Alaunghpra,\* and the Triumph of Burma” over the Talaings, there is one on “Arakan,” where it is stated that the inscription on this bell, in Burmese and Talaing, “is of considerable historical value.”

\* Alompra, founder of the present dynasty.

*Bells and the Mois in Cochín-China.*

A most intelligent writer in one of our popular journals recently observed, while writing on Cochín-China:—The Mois “desire to have their country to themselves, and so hinder travellers as much as possible.” Their “inveterate exclusiveness” is proverbial. “But little trade is carried on; and such transactions as do occur are all in the form of barter. Money is unknown; and if a European endeavours to make use of it as a medium of exchange, he finds it accepted at only a low valuation. A Moi will refuse to work for a dollar a day; but offer him *a bell*, costing a few cents, and he will willingly do a day’s work to obtain it.” True enough, as the same writer remarks, “there is very much yet to be learned about the Annamese kingdom, of which Tonquin forms the northern part, notwithstanding that the French have had a footing in the country for close upon a century.”

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## III.

MONGOL CONQUEST OF CHINA, AND TRIBUTE  
DEMANDED FROM BURMA.

IN case Chinese history should be going to repeat itself, it may be worth while to go back some six hundred and thirty years, and see what the Mongol conquerers were doing in the then, as at present, much coveted south-west province of Yunnan. A French Timour, or Jenghiz, or a commander like Kublai Khan, formed of material akin to such determined leaders as Rivière, Bonet, and Courbet, would seem to be quite on the cards. From Sir Arthur Phayre's new "History of Burma" (pages 52-53), the following most interesting passage is extracted:—

"Following out the plan of Jenghiz Khan, the Mongol armies had for thirty years been fighting to subdue the Chinese empire, then held by the Sung dynasty. Kublai, the lieutenant of his brother Mangu, who reigned at Karakoram as great khan, had command of the Mongol armies in China. He determined, for reasons the advantages of which are not now



apparent, first to conquer Yunnân, and in pursuance of that plan had to make a march from the province of Shensi, of more than a thousand miles across unsubdued country. He took most of the fortified towns in Yunnân, and then returned to Shensi, leaving Uriang Kadai in command. That general, according to Chinese history, turned his arms against Burma, and compelled recognition by the king of that country of the Mongol power. There is no mention in Burmese history of any collision on the Yunnân frontier at that time (1255-56), and the character of the king, Tarûkpyêmeng, was not such as to render it probable that he would be the aggressor against a country more powerful than his own. It was not until more than twenty years later that the conquest of China was completed by Kublai Khan, who had then been proclaimed Emperor; and it was three years after, according to Burmese history, that a demand was made, in the name of the Mongol Emperor of China, for gold and silver vessels to be sent as tribute, on the ground that King Anorahtâ had presented such tokens of homage. The ambassadors who made this demand were, according to Burmese history, insolent in their conduct, and the King, against the remonstrance of his ministers, had them put to death. The Emperor of China assembled an army to punish this outrage." . . . . "On the whole," concludes Sir Arthur, "I am of opinion that only one great battle [that. (near Malé) in which the Burmese

army was defeated] was fought between the armies of the two peoples throughout the whole period of the operations by the Mongols on the Yunnân frontier against Burma, extending from A.D. 1255 until about 1284, and that the battle took place on a plain adjoining the Irawadi." (Page 56).

*Origin of War between Burma and China.*

At pages 190-91 of the same "History" will be found matter relating to a comparatively modern date, which causes us to think more and more that the world's wars have originated in very trivial things after all:—

"A series of petty misunderstandings on the frontier of China had led to an invasion of Burma from that country. In the spring of 1765 a Chinese merchant named Loalî arrived on the frontier, coming by the Momien route, with a large drove of oxen laden with merchandize. In order to cross the river 'Tapeng, he wished to construct a bridge at the village Nân bâ, and applied to the governor of Bamoâ for permission to do so. The merchant, annoyed at the delay which occurred in attending to his application, uttered some words in his own language, which were interpreted to the governor as being disrespectful. The governor sent him to Ava as a prisoner. The authorities there released him, and gave orders that he might build the bridge and pursue his vocation. On returning to

Bamoa, where his merchandize had been left, he complained that some of the packages had been opened and a portion of the goods extracted, and he demanded compensation. The officials replied that his own men had remained in charge of the bales, and they refused to enquire into the complaint. Loalî then departed, and, on arrival at Momien, complained of the treatment he had received. He went on to the city of Yunnân, where the governor received his statement and noted the facts. Soon after another dispute took place at a distant point of the frontier. A Chinese merchant, named Loatârî, arrived with several followers at a mart in the territory of the Shân state of Ky-aingtun, and there sold goods on credit. Payment was refused by the purchaser, a quarrel arose, and in the affray which ensued a Chinaman was killed." Killing a civil Chinaman would now (1883) appear, especially in Pekin or Canton, almost as dangerous as to kill a king; and, as in 1767, doubtless, the King of Burma now views with some alarm the state of his relations with the Shans and with China.

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## IV.

## NOTE.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA, THIRTY-SIX YEARS AGO.

(By a French Judge at Pondicherry.)\*

*Historical.*

AFTER different unsuccessful attempts at settlement in India, François Martin, in 1683, purchased Pondicherry, then a small village, and a certain extent of the adjacent territory. Here he assembled the remains of other settlements which had previously been formed at Trincomalee and St. Thomé by the French, and out of which they had been driven by the Dutch; he fortified the place to the best of his ability, but not sufficiently to resist a serious attack from the Dutch, who took possession of the infant colony the 5th September 1693. At the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, Pondicherry

\* Written for the author by M. Otianno, one of the judges of the Cour Royale, and author of a learned work, published in Paris, on the "Hindu Law of Inheritance." This "Note," as the judge modestly styled it, will, in addition to its value as an historical record, give a good idea of the French possessions in India and their government when Louis Philippe was King, or just before the Revolution of 1818.

was restored to the French, and shortly after, in 1699, became the capital of the French settlements in India.

In 1688 the French East India Company obtained from Aurungzebe the right of founding a commercial settlement at Chandernagore, and in 1696 they took advantage of the disturbed state of the country, during the rebellion of Sotha-Sing, Zemindar of the Burdwan, to fortify themselves, as did also the English at Calcutta to build the Fort William, and the Dutch at Chinsurah the Fort Gustavus. In 1727 the Prince of Cartenant granted to the same Company the privilege of forming a similar establishment on the Malabar coast, which was afterwards called Fort Mahé. In 1739 the Company purchased Karikal and its territory from the Rajah of Tanjore. In 1750 the French took possession of Yanaon and Masulipatam, which were regularly ceded to them in 1752.

From 1735 to 1742, under the government of M. Dumas, the French possessions in India took rapid extension; the Mogul granted them the right of coining money at Pondicherry which at that early period gave the Company a benefit of two lakhs of rupees per annum. Monsieur Dupleix was governor of Chandernagore from 1730 to 1742, and under his administration that settlement became the seat of a very considerable traffic. In 1742 he was promoted to the governorship of Pondicherry, and proclaimed Governor-General of all the French settlements in

India. At this period the French prosperity in India was carried to its highest; then it was (in 1746) they took possession of Madras, and then (in 1748) that M. Dupleix repulsed a formidable attack directed against Pondicherry by land and sea, the latter under the command of Admiral Boscawen at the head of thirteen ships of war. In 1758 we possessed on the Coromandel coast:—

1st. Pondicherry, with a territory bordering the sea in a length of thirty miles, and extending inland about the same distance, a population of 500,000 souls, and a revenue of twenty lakhs of rupees.

2nd. Karikal, of an equal extent and value.

3rd. Masulipatam, the island of Diou, and the four provinces of Mountfanagar, Ellore, Rajmundri, and Chicacole, forming a territory of nearly four hundred miles in length, varying in breadth from forty-five to seventy-five, with a revenue of forty-two lakhs of rupees.

4th. The island of Seringham, formed by two branches of the Cauvery.

In 1758 war commenced between France and England, and in less than two years the whole of these possessions fell into the hands of the English.

The 6th of January 1761, they took possession of Pondicherry, ruined its fortifications and sent to Europe, not only the troops which had garrisoned the place, but all the European inhabitants attached to the

Company's service. We have never since possessed any real power in India.

In 1763, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé, and Chandernagore were restored to us, but with a very limited territory, as was also Yanaon. Pondicherry partially regained its former splendour, but was retaken by the English in 1778; and again restored with our other possessions, by the treaty of peace of 20th January 1783. They all fell again in the hands of the English a few years later, Pondicherry itself having been once more taken the 20th August 1793. At the peace of Amiens, in 1802, they were again restored, but for so short a time, that on the 11th September 1803, Pondicherry, with a garrison of only 152 European soldiers, capitulated, and passed for the fourth time to the English. The treaties of 1814 and 1815 replaced us in possession of our East Indian establishments, such as they had been reduced by former stipulations; they consist of mere points widely separated from each other, disseminated on the coasts of Coromandel, Orissa, Malabar, and in the interior of Bengal. Their population is about 195,000, of which less than 1,000 are Europeans; they are situated as follows and consist:—

On the Coromandel coast, of—

1st. Pondicherry and its territory, including the districts of Pondicherry, Villenour, and Bahour.

2nd. Karikal and its districts.

On the coast of Orissa, of—

- 1st. Yanaon, its small territory and villages.
- 2nd. France Pettah, and Masulipatam Lodge.

On the Malabar coast, of—

- 1st. Mahé and its territory.
- 2nd. Calicut Lodge.

In Bengal, of—

- 1st. Chandernagore and its very small territory.
- 2nd. The lodges of Cassimbazar, Jougduin, Dacca, Balasore, and Patna.

In Guzerat, of—

The factory of Surat.

The whole measure about 120,000 acres. France has also the right of establishing a factory at Muscat, and one at Moka.

### *Statistics, Topography, and Produce.*

The town of Pondicherry is regularly built and divided into White Town and Black Town, separated by a canal. White Town has 430 houses, and about 700 European inhabitants. Black Town has about 25,000 native inhabitants and about 4,000 houses or huts, 3,000 of which are brick. Nine hundred Gallo-Indians, Portuguese, or Topas, are disseminated in both these towns. The only remarkable buildings are the Catholic mission church, Government House, two pagodas, the new bazaar, and the light-house; there



are also two thread manufactories, worked by steam, one of which casts off 2,500 pounds of thread daily. The district of Pondicherry contains, besides the town, several large Indian villages (native). The population of this densely-inhabited district may reach, exclusively of the town, 35,000.

The district of Villenour has forty-five villages, and that of Bahour thirty-six; these three districts measure in the aggregate 69,110 acres, only 11,000 of which are adapted to the produce of rice; they contain sixty-one tanks, ponds, or lakes, the two most considerable of which are situated in the districts of Villenour and Bahour; the one measuring 1,853 acres, 600 of which are in the English limits, the other 1,732 acres. The population of the district of Villenour is 23,000, that of the district of Bahour 18,000. The town of Karikal, situated on the Coromandel coast, in Tanjore, near Tranquebar, has a population of 12,000 souls, with a territory of 39,891 acres, divided into five districts, and 19,900 acres are adapted to the cultivation of rice. The population of these districts, exclusive of that of the town, is 37,140.

Yanaon is situated in Golconda, near Coringa, and its population is, or was a few years back, 7,343 souls; its territory measures 8,149 acres, 4,900 of which produce rice of a fine quality.

Masulipatam Lodge!—Of all the vast French possessions of which the town of Masulipatam was the capital, we have now but this lodge, with the useless

privilege of hoisting thereon the French colours, and a small village called France Pettah, situated about two miles north-west of Masulipatam; population about 300 natives.

Mahé, on the Malabar coast, fifteen miles south-east of Cannanore, near the mouth of a small river. We, at present, are in possession of little more than the town, which contains 3,360 inhabitants, and does not cover more than 1,400 acres. When this possession was restored to us in 1817, we claimed as dependencies of it the districts of Palour, Pandaquet, Chambara, and Chambinara, the petty principalities of Coringot and Payaporto; and three small hills, called Fort St. George, Great and Little Calaye. In 1828 (the 10th July) Messrs. Frazer and Sheffield (English Commissioners) presented a long report, the conclusion of which rejected our claim to the principalities of Coringot and Payaporto, and to the three hills situated in the immediate vicinity of Mahé, but admitted our right to the four districts of Palour, Pandaquet, Chambara, and Chambinara. However, the Governor of Madras in Council refused to admit this conclusion; and ever since, our claims had been under discussion, till about the middle of 1846, when they were brought to a final conclusion, our right to the four districts as also to the hills acknowledged, and our further claim to the principalities of Coringot and Payaporto rejected. I conceive this decision to be perfectly correct, if, as I suppose will be the case, the revenues

which the English Company has received since 1817 are accounted for at the same time as we are replaced in possession of these districts.

Chandernagore is situated on the right bank of the river, Hoogly, about twenty miles from Calcutta. This, as already mentioned, was once the seat of considerable traffic; yet we possess little more than what is occupied by the town, being about 2,200 acres, formerly enclosed by a deep moat or ditch, now almost filled up, and protected by a fort, finally destroyed by the English in the last war. At the distance of two miles from Chandernagore, we possess the small village of Giretty, where formerly was situated a very handsome building and park, the seat of our Governor of Chandernagore, now entirely a ruin. [Here some of the greatest lights of Anglo-Indian society were magnificently entertained by the hospitable French Governor.]

At Balasore, Dacca, Cassimbazar, Patna, Jougdia, we have little more than the ruins of a house formerly occupied by the French East India Company's agent, and a small territory or rather space of ground, with the right of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which, of course, we have no occasion or opportunity of exercising.

#### *Government and Administration.*

The whole of these widely disseminated settlements are under the rule of one Governor, selected from the

captains of the Royal Navy, who resides at Pondicherry. He has a privy council, composed of the chief agent of the administration (*chef du service administratif*) and the Attorney-General (*Procureur général chef du service judiciaire*); the revenue collector (*receveur des domaines*) assists the privy council in all matters concerning the revenue.

In each of the settlements of Chandernagore, Karikal, Yanaon, and Mahé, there is a Government agent, who receives directly the Governor's orders, and corresponds with him.

	Rupers.
The Governor receives (per mensem)	1,333
The Attorney-General ( <i>chef du service judiciaire</i> ) . . . . .	400
The Chief Government Agent at Pondicherry ( <i>chef du service administratif</i> ) . . . . .	400
The Government Agent at Chandernagore) . . . . .	400
The Government Agent at Karikal . . . . .	333
„ „ „ Yanaon . . . . .	200
„ „ „ Mahé . . . . .	200

Each of these agents is allowed, independently of his salary, a residence and a certain number of servants or peons, according to his rank. A medical officer resides at Pondicherry, one at Chandernagore, one at Karikal; and it is proposed to have a second one

at Pondicherry, and one at each of the small settlements of Yanaon, and Mahé. At Pondicherry, there is an apothecary belonging to the navy (*pharmacien de première classe*).

### *Courts of Judicature.*

These are composed of magistrates, termed justices of the peace; tribunals superior to these, termed *Tribunaux de première instance* or *Juges Royaux*; and of a Court of Appeal or Supreme Court, termed *Cour Royale*. Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Karikal have each a magistrate or justice of the peace, each a *Tribunal de première instance*, or *Juge Royale*, and the Supreme Court has its seat at Pondicherry.

The justices of the peace dispose finally of all petty cases, the value of which does not exceed thirty rupees, and of all matters of police; in all other cases, their decisions are subject to an appeal to the superior judge, who gives on such cases a final decision. The tribunals of first instance dispose finally of all civil causes not exceeding the value of two hundred rupees (at Chandernagore this jurisdiction has been extended to four hundred); their decisions are subject to an appeal to the Royal Court when the matter is of greater importance. They also decide on criminal cases not amounting to felony; but in these cases also their judgments may be revised by the Court Royal. A King's Counsel (*Procureur du Roi*) [now (1883) *de la République*] is present at all their public

audiences. His business is, in criminal matters, to prosecute in the King's name, and, in civil ones, to give his opinion on all matters interesting the Crown, orphans, or absentees. The Royal, or Supreme Court, is composed of seven judges—one of which is styled president; four counsellors, and two auditors. The Attorney-General is present at all public audiences of the court; his business being the same as that of the King's Counsels in the inferior jurisdictions. This court disposes finally of all matters, civil or criminal, of whatever amount. In civil cases, the presence of three is sufficient to give judgment. In criminal ones, the trial by jury was attempted, but was not found to answer, the number of European inhabitants being too small. At present, two citizens, styled *juges notables*, are adjoined to five members of the court, to try criminal matters amounting to felony, so that the Criminal Court is composed of seven, and no condemnation is pronounced without a majority of five.

In civil matters, the Code Napoleon is applied to Europeans, the Hindu law to the Hindus, and Mahometan to the Moslems. The French penal law, to which have been made some slight alterations deemed necessary here, is applied to all.

Rupces.

The Attorney-General (it has already been mentioned) receives per mensem . . . . .	400
„ President of the Royal Court . . . . .	300

	Rupees.
The Four Senior Judges ( <i>conseillers</i> ),	
each . . . . .	200
„ Two Auditors, each . . . . .	100
„ Royal Judge at Pondicherry . . . . .	200
„ King's Counsel ( <i>Procureur du Roi</i> ) . . . . .	200
„ Royal Judge at Chandernagore . . . . .	166
„ King's Counsel at „ . . . . .	166
„ Royal Judge at Karikal „ . . . . .	133
„ King's Counsel at Karikal . . . . .	133
„ Justice of the Peace at Pondicherry . . . . .	133
„ Justice of the Peace at Chander-	
nagore . . . . .	120
„ Justice of the Peace at Karikal . . . . .	100

*Treaties—Conventions—Salt and Opium Monopoly—  
Import Duties on Rice.*

The thirteenth article of the Treaty of Peace of 3rd September 1783 runs thus:—

“ Le roi de la Grande Bretagne restitue à Sa Majesté très chrétienne tous les établissements qui lui appartenaient au commencement de la guerre présente sur la côte d'Orixa et dans le Bengale, avec la liberté d'entourer Chandernagor d'un fossé pour l'écoulement des eaux, et Sa Majesté britannique s'engage à prendre les mesures qui seront en son pouvoir pour assurer aux sujets de la France, dans cette partie de l'Inde, comme sur les côtes d'Orixa, de Coromandel et de Malabar

*un commerce sur, libre, et indépendant*, tel que le faisait la Compagnie française des Indes Orientales, soit qu'ils le fassent individuellement ou en corps de compagnie."

Prior to this treaty the English East India Company had never attempted to levy any customs, export or import duties, on us ; and the commerce of opium, salt-petre, &c., were as free for us as for the English in all parts of India ; but the Company's possessions, the town of Calcutta particularly, had much increased during the war, and a tariff of customs had been promulgated, it was said, in most part applicable to the municipal necessities of the Bengal metropolis, which it was then attempted to apply to French vessels trading with Bengal, several of which were forcibly visited on their way to Chandernagore, and a French ship-of-war was fired into and swamped by the fort of Bouge Bougie. Negotiations were entered into on the subject between the Governor-General of Bengal, represented by Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, and Viscount Souliac, Governor-General of the French possessions in India. They terminated by a provisional treaty dated the 30th April 1786, which stipulated, amongst other points—1st. That French vessels trading in the English Settlements in India should pay no customs, but merely the same municipal duties as English ones ; 2nd. That no French ship or boat of war, going up or down the Hoogly, should on any account be visited or in any way detained (*hêlé* hailed or called to). 3rd. That no French vessel of



commerce belonging to the French East India Company, or to any French private adventurer, should be visited or detained, except when a declaration upon oath, signed by persons known to the English Company's officers, had been previously made that such vessel had on board salt in quantity superior to the quantity stipulated in the same treaty, arms, or ammunition. 4th. That French ships would have the right to import to Bengal 200,000 maunds of salt, which the English Company should pay for at a certain rate per maund (80 lbs.). 5th. That the English East India Company should deliver to the French 300 boxes of opium at the price of fabrication, and 18,000 maunds of saltpetre. At the same time similar negotiations were carried on in Europe between the respective Governments, which were concluded the 31st August 1787, by a treaty signed W. Eden and Count Monmorin, which contained the same stipulations concerning the *liberty, security, and independence* of French commerce, and concerning the importation of 200,000 maunds of salt to Bengal, and the exportation of opium and saltpetre, but which intentionally remained silent respecting the customs, or export and import duties. This point, however, was clearly explained by a letter of Count Monmorin annexed to the treaty when sent to the Governor of Pondicherry.

“Ici s'arrête (says this letter, dated 24th September 1787) “la convention faite entre les deux cours, parceque celle de Londres n'a pas crû qu'il fut néces-

saire d'y insérer d'autres points ; mais ils sont clairement expliqués dans la lettre qui a été écrite à Milord Cornwallis en lui envoyant la convention, et dont Mr. Eden, ministre plénipotentiaire Anglais, m'a remis la copie que vous trouverez ci-jointe, ainsi que celle de la lettre qu'il m'a écrite :—En prétendant que le privilège de percevoir les droits de douane du gouvernement ne peut leur être dispute, les Anglais ont néanmoins résolu de se désister de cette perception, et il est ordonné au Lord Cornwallis de n'en pas exiger. Il ne faut actuellement considérer que cette franchise et nous devons espérer qu'il ne sera jamais question d'en revenir à la discussion du point de droit. Cette franchise du surplus s'étend aux douanes de Madras comme à celles du Bengale, sauf des droits de péage que les propriétaires de diverses possessions sous la dépendance de l'Angleterre peuvent être en possession de percevoir, et qui au moins exclut pour l'avenir toute imposition nouvelle de cette espèce." This convention of 31st August 1787, as explained by the letter of 24th November, continued to be executed till 1792, and even at the peace of Amiens, though that treaty of peace did not recall the terms of the convention of 1783.

The treaty of 30th May 1814, merely stipulates that the French establishments in India shall be restored as they were on the 1st January 1792, and that in the English possessions in India French subjects will have the same protection as the most

favoured nations. The French Government understood that these settlements were to be restored with the *liberty, security, and independence* of commerce stipulated by former treaties, and particularly by that of 1783, explained by the convention and letters of 1787. This, however, the English Government would not admit, and new negotiations were commenced, which terminated by a convention of 7th March 1815. The English Government did not positively contest that the intention of the high contracting powers had been to return the French establishments with the liberties granted by former treaties, but declared it could not consent to give to France, as formerly, 300 boxes of opium at the price of fabrication, because this concession would necessarily be common to the Dutch and Danish Governments, and because so large a quantity of opium out of the Company's hands would give rise to an extensive contraband traffic, seriously detrimental to its revenue. On the other hand, far from contesting our right to introduce 200,000 maunds of salt into Bengal at a stipulated price, they offered to purchase all the salt that could be fabricated in our establishments, over that which would be necessary for our own consumption, as the most effectual means of preventing, in that article also, an injurious contraband trade. It was finally decided by a convention of the 7th March 1815 :—

1st. That we might claim yearly 300 boxes of opium at the average price of the Calcutta sales.

2nd. That in compensation of the privilege granted to the English Company's Government of purchasing, at a fixed price, all the salt prepared in our settlements over the quantity necessary for our own consumption, the Company should pay us yearly, at Calcutta or Madras, from the 1st October 1814, the sum of four lakhs of sicca rupees.\*

3rd. That our right of exporting from Bengal, yearly, 18,000 maunds of saltpetre should be maintained.

This convention, it seems, was not found sufficient to prevent all attempts at the contraband introduction of salt from the French to the English territory, and it was proposed to stop our fabrication of salt altogether; but as this was detrimental to the interests of the salt-works proprietors, who had no part in the compensation of four lakhs, an additional convention became necessary, which was passed between the Governors of Madras and Pondicherry, the 13th May 1818. It stipulates—That all the salt-works in the French establishments shall be stopped during the whole term of the Honourable Company's charter; that the Madras Government engages to pay to that of Pondicherry, as an indemnity to the salt-works proprietors, a sum of four thousand star pagodas, yearly, also during the whole term of the Company's charter; that the Madras Government engages to furnish to the Government of Pondicherry the quantity of salt necessary for the con-

\* Upwards of £10,000.

sumption of all the French establishments. As the French settlements do not produce a sufficient quantity of rice for their inhabitants, it has ever been acknowledged that we have a right to draw this necessary article,, duty free, from the English territory, at least so far as regards our own wants. This also has given rise to many complaints and difficulties, but, scarcely worthy of mention here. At present, rice of English produce is freely imported; but, on the other hand, none, even of French growth, is exported by sea without paying, for the benefit of the Madras Government, the duty fixed for exportation by foreign bottoms, even when exported by English vessels for the Mauritius. This is considered as a grievance, particularly at Karikal, where a tolerably brisk traffic in rice and other grains is carried on with Ceylon and the Mauritius, in vessels bearing the English flag.

### *Revenue and Expenditure.*

The Revenues of the French establishments, independently of the four lakhs of sicca rupees paid annually by the Madras Government to the Pondicherry Government, are a little more than four lakhs of Company's rupees, and the total expenditure is also four lakhs of Company's rupees; consequently there is a surplus revenue of the whole amount of the four lakhs of compensation money. This the French metropolitan government applies to the necessities of some of its other

colonies, whose revenues are inferior to their expenses. [This is an important point. I suppose some of it goes to support Algeria.\*]

The very small apparent importance of the French establishments in India, has frequently given rise to the opinion that the Metropolitan Government would willingly give them up to the East India Company, as have lately done the Danes with their settlements of Tranquebar on the Malabar coast, and Serampore on the banks of the Hoogly. I believe the impression to be an erroneous one, as without Pondicherry we should not have the means of carrying on the very important exchange of India blue cloth with the gum produced by the forests of the interior of Africa, the only really prosperous trade France can boast of at present, the monopoly of which we now possess, but which would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the English, if we could no longer offer the only article of exchange the Arabs will accept.†

\* In 1883, styled "one of the glories of France." Any surplus revenue at Pondicherry will now probably go to Tonquin!

† In November 1883, there was a rumoured purchase of Chandernagore. It was said that the Government of India were in treaty with the French for the purchase of it, but nothing was known for certain on the subject. If all the towns and *petits*—the remnants of old factories established in the days of the French occupation—were sold to the British Government, it might save a vast deal of annoyance in the event of a great European war, or of European complications in the East.

## V.

## “ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN INDO-CHINA.”

IN the “National Review” for May 1883 there is a valuable article by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun on the situation of the French in Indo-China. Mr. Colquhoun has only recently returned from Tonquin, after his travels in Yunnan and other quarters. This energetic traveller reminds one of that useful functionary of the past, as described by Cowper:—

He comes the herald of a noisy world,  
News of all nations lumbering on his back.

The contribution, of which the following is an extract, is entitled “England and France in Indo-China”:—

“The only means by which the King of Siam can hope to foil the French in their present policy, and develop the material prosperity of his country, is by opening it up by means of roads and railways. It is our duty, as well as our interest, to aid this friendly Potentate in the retention, consolidation, and development of his dominion. In no better and in no more

effectual way can this be done than by connecting the interior of his kingdom with his own capital and with British Burma by means of railways. The deep commercial interest—already a considerable one—which we should then have in the autonomy of his empire would be the strongest barrier against further possible aggression. The value of the country as a field for commercial enterprise is fully evidenced by the character of the people, the richness of the soil, the mineral wealth, the vastness of the teak forests, the fine quality of the tea, the large area available for cultivation, and the magnificent grazing-lands. The great richness of the country between Zinimé and Bangkok, and the density of the population and the value of Zinimé as a central *entrepôt* of trade are strongly dwelt upon by Carl Boch in *Petermanns Mittheilungen* for May. He strongly advocates the railway from Zinimé to Bangkok for political and commercial reasons. The Government of India and the commercial community of this country are now fully alive to the importance of the question; and with the cordial assistance of the King of Siam, a reconnaissance of North Siam and the Shan country will shortly be made, as the initial step of this policy. The English trade with China amounts to more than half the total of £100,000,000, while that of France is trifling; in Indo-China the trade of England amounts to more than two-thirds the total of £60,000,000, while French commerce, even at Saigon, is so slight as



hardly to be worth discussion. The occupation of Tonquin will almost certainly lead to a Franco-Chinese war, the results of which would be disastrous chiefly to the commerce of England and America, but also to that of Germany and other European Powers. Such a war—no matter what its issue may be—would undo all the progress made during forty years of peace in the relations of European Powers with China. It would be certain to raise the antagonism of the populace in the interior against the missionaries and their Christian converts, as has occurred already in Tonquin after French interference. Should the French prove successful in Tonquin, that province will be used merely as a northern base for aggression against Siam and the independent Shan country, leading to complications with Siam, and, as a *sequitur*, ultimately with this country. The first step in the French programme has already been taken in the commencement of the first section of the Mehong Valley Railway; the second will be the expedition to Tonquin. The European articles found in the interior of Siam and the Shan country are British goods, distributed through the agency of British merchants. The independent Shan States have thrown off the yoke of Burma, and it should be our policy to allow them to gravitate towards the kingdom of Siam, whose people are of the same race, religion, and language as themselves. Burma, whose intrigues with France have been lately resumed, is in a state of disintegration, and on no

account should the importation of arms into that country be permitted, to be used for the re-subjugation of the Shans or against ourselves. Siam is friendly and progressive, and the country is being gradually opened up; the kingdom can best be consolidated and strengthened by means of railways, one of which should connect the railway system of British Burma with Siam. The issues involved by the expedition to Tonquin seem absolutely uncomprehended by the French public. They have been blinded by the dream of an easy creation of a vast Indo-Chinese Empire, and the moment is said to be opportune for the birth of this Nouvelle France. The annexation of Tonquin is regarded as a mere bagatelle, not involving the discharge of a single musket; and the idea of an 'armed expedition, a campaign, an adventure,' ever arising from it is ridiculed. The injury which would be the result to the enormous commerce of Europe and America of a war with China, seems not to be considered a factor in the case. Should, however, the occupation of Tonquin not lead to a Chinese war, as I believe it certainly will, the French will have not only the Tonquinese to deal with, but Annam, and—a fact ignored by the few Frenchmen who are aware of it—after the subjugation of Tonquin and Annam, there will still remain between them and China the hardy and resolute hill tribes, who have to this day remained unsubdued before the most absorbing nation in the world, the Chinese."

Perhaps some thoughtful Englishmen may be inclined to hold the opinion that our country is quite as "absorbing" a nation as China. Any way, it is our bounden duty, especially at the present time, to preserve intact, our good relations with the Celestial Empire which, from the days of Noah, has been the wonder of the world. It may here be well to recommend to public attention Dr. Williams' re-written volume, brought down to the present time, entitled "The Middle Kingdom," published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co.—a splendid and useful work for information on China.

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## VI.

## GEOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES.

MALTE BRUN, the French geographer, was the first to give the title *Chin-India* to the countries now exciting so much interest.

The Empire of Annam, for many years past, has been set down as containing 120,000 English square miles, with a population ranging as high as 10,000,000, or about eighty-three persons to the square mile.

Just before the second Burmese war (1852) the Burman Empire was said to contain 250,000 square miles, with under four millions of inhabitants (exclusive of Shans), about fourteen or fifteen to the square mile. Siam has long been said to measure 200,000 square miles, with a population of 4,000,000, or twenty to the square mile.

The following remarks by the Tonquin correspondent of the *Times* (Oct. 18) are valuable :—

“Considerable confusion is noticeable in the employment of the terms Tonquin, Annam, Cochīn-China, and it will be worth while, before entering

upon any account of certain features of the country, to understand clearly what these terms mean, and how they gained their present political significance. Reference to a map of Indo-China—by preference a French one—will greatly facilitate the comprehension of what I have to say on this subject.

“The most eastern portion of the enormous peninsula of Indo-China—a name invented by Dr. Leyden to replace the old term Transgangetic India—now [unclear] is divided into two parts,

in opposition to Nam-ki (region of the south). To the Cantonese and Southern Chinese near Tonquin it is known as Yuan, but among the names borne during its varying fortunes are those given to it by the Chinese, and still in use—namely Cao-chi or Giao-chi (Forked toes)—that is to say, the kingdom of those who have forked toes and Ngan-nan or An-nam (Peace of the South). The variety of names in use under different dynasties previous to 1802 need not be referred to. The name Tonquin or Tong-king is derived from the surname of the principal capital Késho, close by which stands to-day Hanoi (Interior of the river), which was called “Capital of the East,” namely Tong-king, in opposition to Tay-kinh (capital of the West).

“Cochin-China was the first name given to Tonquin by Europeans, and seems to have been of Malay origin. Tonquin formed part of the Thsing dynasty in the third century, when the Malays first visited China, which country they called Tchina after the Thsing dynasty, and they named the country of Cao-chi, the Tonquin of to-day, Canchichmin in order to distinguish it from the Cochin of India.”

The well-read correspondent likewise gives the following information: “The Japanese who were found in Tonquin by the Dutch, had been settled in that country for some time, but the edict issued by the Mikado in 1635 forbade the Japanese, under penalty of death, to venture abroad, and put an end to the

commercial relations which had till that time existed with the countries of Indo-China." Again, "The principal waterway of Tonquin, known to Europe to-day as the Song-Ka or Song-Koi (great or principal river), and christened by the French 'Fleuve Rouge,' is called by the natives Bo-dê, the ancient name. . . . To the Tonquinese and Annamites, the Song-Koi is not the principal river of Tonquin, for the reason that the Red River beyond the Delta has never known Annamese domination. Its steep banks and turret-like character offered no field to the Annamese, whose home was in the alluvial flat lands of the Delta. In Yunnan, among the many names borne by it is that of Hong-Kiang or Red River, given to it on account of the red-coloured clay carried by it, and which suggested the name to French and Chinese alike."

Regarding Dr. Harmand, we learn that the Commissioner-General in Tonquin was "a member of the famous French Government Expedition of 1868-69, known commonly as Garnier's, and who has since then been employed in Indo-China, recently at Bangkok." He sent "a Laolian (Shan) messenger in fifteen days from the Mekong to the upper waters of a stream falling into the Tonquin Gulph."

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## VII.

## NOTES ON THE SITUATION IN INDO-CHINA.

## THE TREATY OF HUÉ.

By the middle of October the full text of the Treaty of Hué, or the "Draft Treaty between France and Anam," was published. This treaty promises to be one of the most important ever made in the East; and a summary of it is as follows:—

[Paris, Oct. 14.

The full text of the draft Treaty concluded between France and Annam on the 25th August has just been communicated to the Press. It consists of twenty-seven Articles, and was signed by M. Harmand, Civil Commissary and Plenipotentiary, acting in the name of France, and by Troan Dirih Tue, and Nijayan Trong Hiep, the Plenipotentiaries of the King of Anam. MM. Palasue de Champeaux and de la Bastide Masse Haitée also signed the Treaty as M. Harmand's witnesses and counsellors.]

In Article I, Anam "recognises and accepts the



Protectorate of France, with the consequences entailed by that kind of connection as it is understood by European diplomacy ; that is to say, that France will preside over the relations of the Anamite Government with all foreign Powers, including China, with which powers the Anamite Government will only be able to communicate by the intermediary of France.”

Articles 8, 9, and 10, concern the construction of light-houses, roads, bridges, and telegraph lines.

Article 11 is as follows :—

“There will be at Hué a French Resident Agent, a functionary of very high rank. He will not interfere in the internal affairs of the province of Hué, but he will be the representative of the French Protectorate, under the control of the General Commissary delegated by the Government of the French Republic. The General Commissary will preside over the foreign relations of the kingdom of Anam, but will be able to delegate his authority, and all, or part of his powers, to the French Resident at Hué. The French Resident Agent at Hué will have the right to be received in private and personal audience by his Majesty the King of Anam, who cannot refuse to receive him without a valid reason.”

Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 contain the stipulations for the establishment of French Resident Agents in Tonquin. A French Resident Agent is to be established at Hanoi, another at Haiphong, another in a maritime town to be named in the future, and

others in the capitals of all the great provinces. French resident functionaries are also to be placed in the chief towns of the secondary provinces, as it may be found necessary. These latter will be placed under the authority of the French Residents in the capitals of the great provinces. The French agents will be protected by a garrison of French and native troops. The Mandarins are to continue to administer the Government under the control of the French agents, but if they manifest hostility towards the French they will be removed on the demand of the French authorities. The Resident Agents will be charged with the distribution of justice in all civil, correctional, and commercial affairs between Europeans of all nationalities and the natives; appeal from their decisions will have to be made to the Courts of Saigon. The French Residents will, with the assistance of the Quan Bo, superintend the collection of the taxes.

Article 19 provides that the re-organised Custom House service shall be confided entirely to French administrators. The Custom Houses will be placed on the sea-shore and the frontiers wherever they may be required.

Article 20 provides that French citizens and subjects, and all foreigners who claim the benefit of French protection, shall enjoy perfect liberty throughout the whole of Tonquin, and in the ports open to commerce in Anam. They are to live in safety, and be permitted to establish commercial houses and possess property.

Article 21 says that all persons who may wish to travel in Anam will be able to obtain the authorisation from the French Resident Agent at Hué, the Governor of Cochinchina, and the French Commissary for Tonquin.

The text of Article 22 is as follows:—"France will maintain, as long as that precaution shall seem to her necessary, military stations along the course of the Red River, in order to guarantee its free navigation. She may also raise permanent fortifications on it at such points as she may judge fit."

Article 23 runs thus:—

"France undertakes to guarantee for the future the complete integrity of the States of His Majesty the King of Anam, to defend that Sovereign against all aggressions from without, and against all rebellions from within his dominions, and to support his just claims against foreigners. France undertakes alone to purge Tonquin of the bands known by the name of Black Flags, and to ensure by that means the security and liberty of commerce on the Red River. His Majesty the King of Anam is to continue, as in the past, to direct the internal administration of his States, with the exception, however, of the restrictions which result from the present Treaty."

The remaining Articles state that France will provide the King of Anam with all the officers, engineers, scientific men, &c., he may need, and that the proportion in which the Anamite Government is to par-

ticipate in the revenue derived from the Customs duties, telegraph services, and monopolies that may be conceded to France, will be decided at future conference. France and Anam are to nominate plenipotentiaries, who are to meet at Hué to settle all points of detail. They are also to study all the questions concerning the monopolies of Tonquin, and concessions of mines and forests.—“Standard,” October 15.

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#### GENERAL BOUET ON THE STATE OF TONQUIN.

PARIS, Nov. 2nd.

The late Commander-in-Chief in Tonquin has allowed himself to be freely interviewed by newspaper reporters, and appears to have been most communicative to a representative of the “Gaulois,” who gives an almost verbatim report of the conversation. It is as follows:—

*Reporter.*—You have come home on a mission, it seems. It had, however, been stated that your departure from Tonquin was the result of disagreement between yourself and Commissary Harmand.

*General Bouet.*—I am home on a mission. The Civil Commissary has charged me to enlighten the Government with regard to the real state of affairs in Tonquin, and the sacrifices which it is indispensable to make to seize that country.

*Reporter.*—And, in your opinion, what must be done?

*General Bouet.*—At least ten thousand men are required there, and they must comprise all the elements of a complete division—infantry, artillery, and cavalry.

*Reporter.*—After your campaign in Tonquin, what is your impression?

*General Bouet.*—Tonquin is a fine country, and the population docile; but the climate is very hot. We had to contend with formidable inundations. If, in the middle of August, our troops had been in the open country they would have been drowned. In reply to further questions, the General said Nam-Dinh, Haiphong, and Hanoi are the three principal points on which our operations are based. We have to contend with pirates, and, in the north and north-west, Black Flags and Chinese. Indeed, there is from the north-west to the south-east an incessant movement of Chinese. I put the number of our adversaries at ten thousand men. A third part of the Black Flags and Chinese are armed with Remingtons, the rest with rifles of various models. The diversity of arms is a cause of inferiority for our enemies, but they are disciplined and drilled in the German fashion, and led by Europeans. From the manner in which I observed they entrenched themselves, their leaders must be Germans. They have smooth-bore cannons. I never found myself confronted with Krupp guns; but before my departure I heard of important Chinese reinforcements which arrived with Krupp cannons. As for the garrison of Bac-Ninh, I do not know

whether that garrison had been sent there by China, but certainly it consisted of Chinamen. The men were, however, badly armed, a quarter of them at most having Remingtons. The Chinese and Black Flags in an open country are not at all dangerous. The impetuosity of the French terrifies them. When they are protected by their earthworks it is another matter, and they hold out very long. The length of the war depends both on the number of the enemy and that of our own troops. When I left Tonquin we had three thousand three hundred men, but now there are eight thousand. Ten thousand are required. It is necessary to leave garrisons everywhere. Thus the three towns we occupy require garrisons amounting to fifteen hundred men. As to whether ten thousand men will suffice if China intervenes, I must say I do not take that eventuality into consideration. What I say is that ten thousand men are necessary to drive out of Tonquin the enemies we have now to contend against there. If China intervenes, it will be requisite to reinforce the Expeditionary Corps. What it is indispensable to have is cavalry, to pursue and terrorise the enemy. So long as we have no horsemen they will escape us, and will not fear us, for they run faster than our soldiers. Our troops, on my departure, were in good health. They bear the climate well, thanks to a modification I introduced in their costume. In Tonquin the French soldiers wear black trousers, and a loose jacket of thin cloth. That light attire has the

advantage of not overloading the men, and of drying quickly when it has been wet by the rain. The Black Flags fight with relentless courage. I will give you but one example, perhaps rather old now. When Hanoi was taken by Rivière, they burnt down the houses of the principal street. It is now very like what the Rue de Lille was after the Commune. I cannot say how long I shall remain in France. I trust the Minister of the Marine will send me back to Tonquin to accomplish the work I have commenced there.—“Standard,” November 3.

It was eventually announced in the “Daily Telegraph,” from “a very interesting letter” written by the correspondent of the “France” at Haiphong, dated November 23rd, “that everyone is now aware that the Chinese are commanded by European officers, and that the Annamese who have come from Bac-Ninh declare that it is defended by Krupp guns.” Speculating on Admiral Courbet’s chances of success, he continues:—

“He is a first-rate officer, and may be trusted to do what is to be done; but may he not be mistaken? If he sustain a check, what will become of the Expeditionary Corps when attacked by the Chinese hordes which will swoop down upon us from every quarter if—which heaven forbid—we have to retreat? The reinforcements from France all arrived here quite a fortnight ago, and you may be sure that if Admiral Courbet has not commenced operations, it is because he recognises the gravity of the situation, and will not

take the field without turning to account the smallest circumstances that may prove favourable to us."

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### INTERVIEW WITH THE MARQUESS T'SENG.

PARIS, November 6th.

The following is the substance of the statements of the Marquess T'seng in reply to interrogatories by a representative of the "Gaulois," who went over to Folkestone to interview him. "If the French Chamber vote such credits as would indicate the intention to pursue and extend hostilities, China will most assuredly respond with military measures. As to the despatch of M. Tricou concerning Li Hung Tchang's disavowal, it is either due to a misapprehension, or it was written to order received from Paris. However it may be, I have a telegram from Peking, in which both the Government and Li Hung Tchang deny having expressed the slightest desire for M. Tricou to remain, and in which entire approbation is testified of the manner in which I have followed their instructions. France is making war upon us, and hostilities are, therefore, unfortunately, to be expected. Our Provinces of Canton, Quang Si, and Yunnan are in a good condition to offer resistance, and as to the report of a threatened revolution at Peking, there is no truth in it. There are eleven thousand Black Flags now in the field, and they have strong reserves on the upper



course of the Red River. They are still paid by the Emperor of Anam. You may rest assured that both the Anamites and Tonquinians would make common cause with China, and forty thousand Frenchmen would be inadequate to meet them. M. Harmand has no influence whatever in Tonquin. I know M. Patenôtre, the appointed successor of M. Bourée, to be an able and a conciliatory diplomatist. If China were beaten in the first battles with France, the Empire might become divided into several Governments; but each would resist as long and as resolutely as if all the forces of the country were united under a single hand. Germany would be too glad at seeing you engaged upon a distant and difficult enterprise to offer any interference; but it would be otherwise with England. England might not interfere at the outset of hostilities, seeing that her mediation is not desired, nor would it be accepted by the belligerents. But you may be certain that England would interfere at the proper time to defend her interests, just as she did in Europe in the Russo-Turkish war. I shall remain at Folkestone, as, seeing that hostilities may break out at any moment, I think it better that my family should be here than in Paris, but I shall continue to go either to Paris or London, as the affairs of the Embassy may require."

"Standard," November 7th.

## NOTE OF THE CHINESE LEGATION IN PARIS.

PARIS, November 7th.

The Chinese Legation communicates the following Note to the French Press :—"After the despatch read from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies by the President of the Council, the Chinese Legation thought it necessary to publish a protest at once. Since then the Imperial Government, informed of the allegation in this despatch, has ordered the Marquis Tseng to address an official note to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to express astonishment at the attitude imputed to the Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, and to mark its confidence in its Ambassador and its approval of his conduct.

"Four opportunities for a pacific solution have been discarded. The first was presented by M. Bourée, who was disavowed and recalled; the second took place in the simultaneous presence of M. Trélon and Li Hung Chang at Shanghai. It was lost owing to the menacing attitude of the former. Then a Great Power on whose friendship Republican France might count offered in the most friendly and disinterested manner her good offices. Finally, the French Minister declined to enter into a pacific understanding with the Marquis Tseng, who, though having power to treat, did not meet with the reception to which he was entitled. From all this China must infer a deliberate purpose to quarrel. Because of this inference she has not been able to treat seriously the proposals made to the

Government of Peking, and even if she had not discerned a hostile animus, she could not have treated on the basis the French Minister proposed, that Hang Hoa should be opened to French commerce as a port. That city stands inland on a mountain. It also proposed that the neutral zone should be occupied by *protégés* of France, or, in other words, be placed in French safe-keeping. Consequently, the zone in question would have lacked the quality of neutrality. There would have been no buffer between the French and Chinese territories.

“The Marquis Tseng denies the alleged danger of revolution at Peking or anywhere else in the Celestial Empire. The Chinese people are excited and irritated at the occupation of Tonquin and the projected attack on the Red River cities. Were riots to take place, their object would be to force the Imperial Government to resist aggression by declaring war. During the last twenty years a native newspaper press has sprung up in China. A mass of journals are printed, and there is an organised public opinion such as has never before existed. The Marquis Tseng does not apprehend a massacre of the French or any other Europeans. The Imperial Government will take every precaution to guard against patriotic anger taking a violent and lawless form. The friendly Power referred to in the Chinese note is understood to be the United States.”—“Daily News,” November 8th.

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## THE TONQUIN CAMPAIGN.

Different accounts were received on Saturday evening (December 29) of the total French loss in killed and wounded in the attack on Sontay. One account says the loss was 36 officers and nearly 1,000 men; while the Black Flags lost 6,000 men. The bulk of their force withdrew to Hong Hoa and Nam-Dinh. It is stated that the French found 2,000,000 dollars in silver in Sontay. The place was strongly fortified and defended by Krupp guns. On the other hand, the correspondent of the "New York Herald," telegraphing from Hong Kong on Saturday, says:—"The total French loss was 320, of which 75 were killed. The enemy's loss is not reliably known. My correspondent at Haiphong says that there is nothing to prevent an attack on the rear of the citadel, which would avoid the loss attending a direct assault on the front, where the succeeding lines are mutually protected. The Turcos behaved like madmen. One company of 110 men threw themselves upon the intrenchments, despite the orders of their officers, who, seeing their men so impetuous, rushed to the front and led them to destruction. Only 20 men and one officer escaped. After the intrenchments were taken the enemy evacuated Sontay. This occurred on the night of the 16th. The French entered on the following morning with guns shouldered. Admiral Courbet did not

intend to follow up the victory and attack Bae-Ninh\* until he had received reinforcements. These cannot arrive before the rainy season again approaches. Thus all advantage will be lost. M. Tricou left Haiphong on the 26th, together with Dr. Harmand. The staff of the latter proceed directly to France. M. Tricou stops at Hué to secure the signature of the new King in ratification of Dr. Harmand's treaty made on the 25th of August. Meantime, the poor Tonquinese suffer on all sides. The French Government affords them no protection against the pirates and robbers, who pillage and burn their villages. They cannot protect themselves, as they have been disarmed for more than twenty-five years. Each expedition into the country reveals on every side villages robbed and burned, pagodas destroyed, people suffering the pangs of hunger and terror. If they declare openly for the French they are exterminated by Harmand's mandarins, who have been imported from Hué. If they show indifference their property is destroyed and their homes are sacked by the French reconnoitring parties. From whatever quarter troops approach them they suffer, and when no soldiers arrive, then they are oppressed by the mandarins."

A French despatch says:—"Sontay and the forts on the river are strongly occupied by our troops. All

\* It will be recollected that the Chinese declared they would consider an attack on Bae-Ninh a *casus belli*, from its being garrisoned by Chinese troops.

## VIII.

THE following is a very concise and interesting account of "English Pioneers in Indo-China":—

It is rather strange that in all that has lately been written on the subject of French enterprise in Annam no reference has been made to old Thomas Bowyear and to English activity in Cochin-China so far back as the seventeenth century. The truth is, however, that Englishmen were among the first pioneers of European commerce in Indo-China. If we look for the origin of French influence in this quarter of Asia we shall trace it to Constantine Falcon, the successful Greek Minister of Siam, who would never have found the opportunity of distinction but for his taking service under our East India Company. It was he who concluded a treaty of a most favourable character with Louis XIV., and perhaps aspired to make himself the ruler of the country by means of an alliance with the "Grand Monarque." At the very time that Falcon was supreme in Siam, Captain Dampier was cruising off the coast of Tong-king, and reporting many strange customs of the natives. At this period the principal traders in the country, which had been brought under European notice by the Portuguese at the end of the

sixteenth century, were the Japanese. They then practically enjoyed the monopoly of its commerce, although now there is probably not a single Japanese merchant throughout the whole of Annam. Captain Dampier's voyage was in the year 1687; the more important one of Thomas Bowyear followed it at an interval of eight years.

In 1695—the French Embassy under De La Loubère having returned in the meantime to Paris without accomplishing any permanent object—the East India Company's representatives at Calcutta resolved to send an expedition to the countries lying on the route to Canton; and no doubt Captain Dampier's narrative had something to do with the special reference to Tong-king. The ship "Dolphin" was accordingly fitted out in that year and placed under the command of Captain Zachariah Stilgoe; a letter from Mr. Nathaniel Higgins, as representative of the East India Company, to the King of Cochin-China being entrusted to the supercargo, Mr. Thomas Bowyear. He has left a brief but graphic description of his journey, which will be found recorded in *Hutchinson's "Oriental Repertory."* In Mr. Higgins's letter there is a passage to the effect that "the English were not seeking to conquer kingdoms, but only to open a trade." The "Dolphin" was away on her voyage nearly two years, and during that period she visited the coast of Annam and the Gulf of Siam, and the King of Cochin-China, as the

was called, gave Mr. Bowyear a most favourable reception, and promised to afford those Englishmen who visited his realm protection and every facility for trade. Greater success could hardly have attended a commercial mission than that which befell Mr. Thomas Bowyear; but whether Mr. Higgins had found other matters to engage his mind nearer home, or whether he had been succeeded as director of the East India Company at Calcutta by some less adventurous spirit, nothing further was done towards extending our trade with the States and peoples of Further India. This is the more remarkable because the terms secured by Mr. Bowyear were exceptionally encouraging, while the reports he brought back of the region depicted it as "a land flowing with milk and honey."—"St. James's Gazette," August 14, 1883.

Such pioneers are too apt to be forgotten by intelligent Englishmen, being too remote for the present busy times. From Mr. Higgins's letter it would appear that our policy then was not very different to what it is now in the East and elsewhere, viz. *not conquest but trade*. With the French in Cochin-China and Tonquin, the rule would now appear to be (as also in Madagascar) conquest first and trade after, a mode of operation we have too often practised ourselves to be able to give any sound advice to others on the subject.



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